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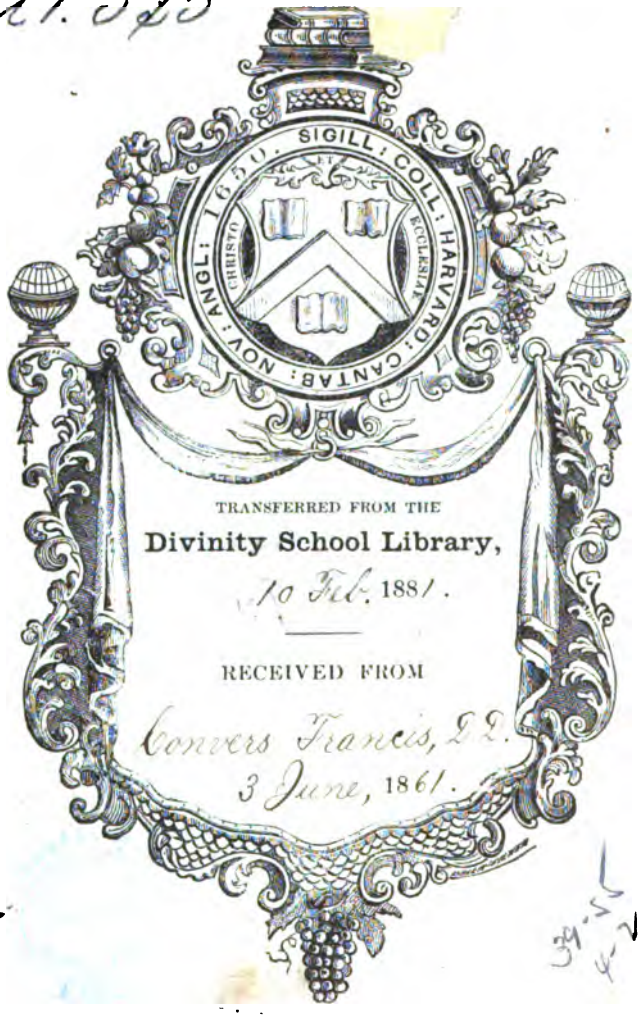

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THE WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

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THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS:

WITH AN

ESSAY ON HIS LIFE AND GENIUS,

NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, &c.

BY

ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamiâ metus sit.

TACITUS, Annales, iii. s. 65.

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THE

LIFE

OF

CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA.

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The life of Agricola was written,

YEAR OF ROME,	OF CHRIST,	CONSULS.
850	97	Nerva, emperor, 3d time. Verginius Rufus.

THE

LIFE

OF

CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA.

I. To transmit to posterity the lives and characters of illustrious men, was an office frequently performed in ancient times. Even in the present age, incurious as it is about its own concerns (*a*), the same good custom has prevailed, whenever a great and splendid virtue has been able to surmount those two pernicious vices (*b*), which not only infest small communities, but are likewise the bane of large and flourishing cities; I mean the vices of insensibility to merit, on the one hand, and envy on the other. With regard to the usage of antiquity, it is further observable, that in those early seasons of virtue, men were led by the impulse of a generous spirit to a course of action worthy of being recorded; and, in like manner, the writer of genius undertook to perpetuate the memory of honourable deeds, without any motives of flattery, and without views of private ambition, influenced only by the conscious pleasure of doing justice to departed merit. Many have been

their own historians (*c*), pursuaded that in speaking of themselves they should display an honest confidence in their morals, not a spirit of arrogance or vain glory. Rutilius (*d*) and Scaurus left an account of their own lives, and the integrity of the narrative has never been called in question; so true it is, that the age, which is most fertile in bright examples, is the best qualified to make a fair estimate of them. For the present undertaking, which professes to review the life of a great man now no more, I judged it necessary to premise an apology, led as I am, by the nature of my subject, to encounter an evil period (*e*), in which every virtue struggled with adversity and oppression.

II. We have it upon record, that Arulenus Rusticus (*a*), for the panegyric of Pætus Thrasea, and Herennius Senecio (*b*), for that of Helvidius Priscus, were both capitally convicted. Nor was it enough that those excellent authors fell a sacrifice to the tyrant's power; persecution raged against their books, and, by an order to the triumvirs, in the forum and the place of popular convention the monuments of genius perished in the flames. The policy of the times, no doubt, intended that in the same fire the voice of the Roman people should be stifled, the freedom of the senate destroyed, and the sentiments of the human heart (*c*) suppressed forever. To complete the work, all sound philosophy was proscribed, every liberal art was driven into banishment, and nothing fair and honourable was suffered to remain. Of our passive temper we gave ample proof; and as

former times had tasted of liberty even to a degree of licentiousness, so we exhausted the bitter cup of slavery to the very dregs. Restrained by the terrors of a merciless inquisition from the commerce of hearing and speaking, and, by consequence, deprived of all exchange of sentiment, we should have resigned our memory with our other faculties, if to forget had been as easy as to submit in silence (*d*).

III. At length, indeed, we begin to revive from our lethargy: but we revive by slow degrees, though the emperor Nerva (*a*), in the beginning of this glorious æra, found means to reconcile two things, till then deemed incompatible; namely, civil liberty and the prerogative of the prince; though his successor Trajan continues to heal our wounds, and by a just and wise administration to diffuse the blessings of peace and good order through every part of the empire; and though it is apparent, that hopes of the constitution are now conceived by all orders of men, and not only conceived, but rising every hour into confidence and public security (*b*). And yet, such is the infirmity of the human mind, that, even in this juncture, the remedy operates more slowly than the disease. For as the body natural is tardy in its growth, and rapid in decay, so the powers of genius are more easily extinguished than promoted to their full maturity. There is a charm in indolence that works by imperceptible degrees; and that listless inactivity, which at first is irksome, grows delightful in the end.

Need I mention that in the course of fifteen years

(*c*), a large portion of human life, many fell by unavoidable accidents, and the most illustrious men in Rome were cut off by the insatiate cruelty of the prince. A few of us, it is, true, have survived the slaughter of our fellow citizens; I had almost said, we have survived ourselves; for in that chasm, which slavery made in our existence, we can not be said to have lived, but rather to have crawled in silence, the young towards the decrepitude of age, and the old to dishonourable graves. And yet I shall not regret the time I have spent in reviewing those days of despotism; on the contrary, it is my intention, even in such weak colouring as mine, to give a memorial of our slavery (*d*) that it may stand in contrast to the felicity of the present period.

In the mean time, the following tract is dedicated to the memory of Agricola, my father-in-law. The design, as it springs from filial piety, may merit a degree of approbation; it will, at least, be received with candour.

IV. Cnæus Julius Agricola was born at the ancient and respectable colony of Forojulium (*a*). His grandfather, by the maternal as well as the paternal line, served the office of imperial procurator (*b*); a trust of importance, which always confers the equestrian dignity. His father, Julius Græcinus (*c*), was a member of the senate, distinguished by his eloquence and philosophy. His merit gave umbrage to Caligula. Being commanded by that emperor to undertake the prosecution of Marcus Silanus (*d*), he refused to comply, and was put to death. Julia Procilla (*e*),

Agricola's mother, was respected for the purity of her manners. Under her care, and as it were in her bosom, the tender mind of the son was trained to science and every liberal accomplishment. His own ingenuous disposition guarded him against the seductions of pleasure. To that happy temperament was added the advantage of pursuing his studies at Marseilles (*f*), that seat of learning, where the refinements of Greece were happily blended with the sober manners of provincial economy.

He has often declared in my hearing, that in the first career of youth he felt himself addicted to philosophical speculations with more ardour than consisted with the duties of a Roman and a senator (*g*); but his taste was soon reformed by the admonitions of his mother. In fact, it can not be matter of wonder, that a sublime and warm imagination, struck with the forms of moral beauty and the love of science, should aspire to reach the glory of the philosophic character. As he grew up to manhood, his riper judgment weaned him from vain pursuits, and during the rest of his life he preserved, what is difficult to attain, that temperate judgment, which knows where to fix the bounds even of wisdom itself.

V. His first rudiments of military knowledge were acquired in Britain (*a*), under the conduct of Suetonius Paulinus, that experienced officer; active, vigilant, yet mild in command. Agricola was soon distinguished by his General, and selected to live with him at head-quarters (*b*). Honoured in this manner, he did not, as is usual with young men

mix riot and dissipation with actual service; nor did he avail himself of his rank of military tribune to obtain leave of absence (*c*), in order to pass his time in idle pleasures and ignorance of his duty. To know the province, and make himself known to the army; to learn from men of experience, and emulate the best examples; to seek no enterprise with a forward spirit, and to decline none with timid caution, were the rules he laid down to himself; prudent with valour, and brave without ostentation.

A more active campaign had never been known, nor was Britain at any time so fiercely disputed (*d*). Our veteran forces were put to the sword; our colonies smoked on the ground; and the legions were intercepted on their march. The struggle was then for life; we fought afterwards for fame and victory. In a juncture so big with danger, though the conduct of the war was in other hands, and the glory of recovering the province was justly ascribed to the commander in chief, yet so fair an opportunity did not fail to improve a young officer, and plant in his mind the early seeds of military ambition. The love of fame took possession of him, that principle of noble minds, but out of season in an evil period, when virtue suffered by sinister constructions, and from an illustrious name the danger was as great as from the most pernicious character.

VI. He returned from Britain to enter on the gradations of the civil magistracy, and married Domitia Decidiana, a lady of high rank and splendid descent. By that alliance he gained an accession of

strength and credit, that served to forward him in the road to public honours. The conjugal state proved a source of domestic happiness. They lived in perfect harmony, endeared by the tenderest affection, and each ascribing to the other the felicity which they enjoyed. But the merit of Decidiana could not be too much acknowledged. The praise of a valuable wife should always rise in proportion to the weight of censure, that falls on such as violate the nuptial union.

Agricola obtained the office of quæstor (*a*); and the province of Asia, of which Salvius Titianus (*b*) was proconsul, fell to his lot. Neither the place nor the governor could warp his integrity. The wealth of the inhabitants invited the hand of rapacity; and Titianus, by the bias of his nature prone to acts of avarice, was ready, on terms of mutual connivance, to co-operate in any scheme of guilt and plunder: but Agricola maintained his honour and his principles. During his stay in Asia his family was increased by the birth of a daughter, who proved soon after, when he lost his infant son, a source of consolation. The intermediate space between the expiration of his quæstorship and his advancement to the post of tribune of the people he had the prudence to pass in calm tranquillity. Even during the year of his tribuneship (*c*) he acted with the same reserve, aware of those disastrous times, when under the tyranny of Nero's reign, the want of exertion was the truest wisdom. He discharged the office of prætor with the same moderation and silent dignity, having no occasion, as his good fortune would have it, to sit in

judicature (*d*). That branch of the magistrate's business did not fall to his share. The pageantry of public spectacles, which belong to his department, he conducted with economy and magnificence, short of profusion, yet with due regard to popularity. In the following reign, being appointed by Galba one of the commissioners to inspect the state of oblations to the several temples (*e*), he managed the inquiry with so much skill and well-tempered judgment, that no species of sacrilegious rapine, except the plunder committed by Nero, was suffered to pass without redress.

VII. In the course of (*a*) the following year a dreadful misfortune happened in his family, and proved to him a severe stroke of affliction. A descent, from Otho's fleet, which roved about in quest of depredations, was made on the coast of Liguria. The freebooters plundered the city of Intemelium (*b*), and in their fury murdered Agricola's mother, then residing upon her own estate. They laid waste her lands, and went off with considerable booty. Agricola set out immediately to pay the last tribute of filial piety, and being informed on his way, that Vespasian aspired to the imperial dignity, he declared at once in favour of that party.

In the beginning of the new reign (*c*), the government of Rome, and the whole administration centered in Mucianus, Domitian being at that time, too young for business, and from the elevation of his father claiming no other privilege than that of being debauched and profligate without control.

Agricola was dispatched to raise new levies. He executed that commission with so much zeal and credit to himself, that Mucianus advanced him to the command of the twentieth legion (*d*), then quartered in Britain, and for some time unwilling to swear fidelity to Vespasian. The officer who had the command of that corps, was suspected of seditious practices, and the men had carried their insolence to such a pitch, that they were even formidable to the consular generals. Their commander was of prætorian rank; but either on account of his own disaffection, or the turbulent spirit of the soldiers, his authority was too feeble. Agricola succeeded to the command of the legion, and to the task of punishing the guilty. He acquitted himself with consummate address, and singular moderation, wishing that the men should have the merit of voluntary compliance, and not seem to have yielded, with sullen submission, to the authority of their general.

VIII. The government of Britain was at that time committed to Vettius Bolanus (*a*), a man of a milder disposition than consisted with the genius of those ferocious islanders. Agricola, that he might not seem to eclipse his superior officer, restrained his martial ardour, submitting with deference to his commander in chief, and, in every part of his conduct, uniting to his love of glory a due regard for the service. Bolanus was soon recalled, and Petilius Cerealis (*b*), an officer of consular rank, succeeded to the command. The field of warlike enterprise was laid open to Agricola. Under the new commander he was, at first, no more

than a common sharer in the danger of the campaign; but in a short time his talents had their free career. The general, to make his experiment, sent him at the head of detached parties, and afterwards, encouraged by the event, employed him in more important operations. Agricola never betrayed a symptom of vain glory. From the issue of his expeditions, however successful, he assumed no merit. It was the general that planned the measure, and he himself was no more than the hand that executed. By this conduct, vigorous in action, but modest in the report of his exploits, he gained a brilliant reputation, secure from the envy that attends it.

IX. On his return to Rome, Vespasian advanced him to the patrician rank (*a*), and soon after to the government of the province of Aquitania (*b*); an appointment of the first importance, leading directly to the honours of the consulship, to which he then aspired with the concurrence of the prince. The military mind, trained up in the school of war, is generally supposed to want the power of nice discrimination. The jurisdiction of the camp is little solicitous about forms and subtle reasoning; military law is blunt and summary, and, where the sword resolves all difficulties. the refined discussions of the forum are never practised. Agricola, however, indebted to nature for a certain rectitude of understanding, was not out of his sphere (*c*) even among men versed in questions of jurisprudence. His hours of business and relaxation had their stated periods. In the council of the province, or on the tribunal of

justice, he discharged the duties of his station with awful gravity, intent to inquire, often severe, but more inclined to soften the rigour of the law. The functions of the magistrate being dispatched, he divested himself of his public character; the man in authority was no longer seen. In his actions no tincture of arrogance, no spleen, no avarice was ever seen. Uncommon as it may appear, the sweetness of his manners took nothing from his authority, nor was the impression made by his amiable qualities lessened by the inflexibility of the judge.

To say of a character truly great, that integrity and a spirit above corruption made a part of it, were mere tautology, as injurious to his virtues, as it is unnecessary. Even the love of fame, that fine incentive of generous minds, could neither betray him into an ostentatious display of virtue, nor induce him to practise those specious arts, that court applause, and often supply the place of merit. The little ambition of rising above his colleagues was foreign to his heart. He avoided all contention with the procurators of the prince. In struggles of that nature he knew that victory may be obtained without glory, and a defeat is certain disgrace. In less than three years he was recalled from his province, to take upon him the consular dignity. The voice of fame marked him out, at the same time, for the government of Britain: the report was current, but neither contrived, nor circulated by himself. He was mentioned, because he was worthy. Common fame does not always err: it often takes the lead, and determines the choice. During his consulship (*d*), though

I was then very young, he agreed to a marriage between me and his daughter, who certainly might have looked for a prouder connexion. The nuptial ceremony was not performed till the term of his consulship expired. In a short time after he was appointed governor of Britain, with the additional honour of a seat in the pontifical college.

X. If I here presume to offer a description of Britain (*a*) and the manners of the people, it is not my intention to dispute with a number of authors, who have gone before me, either the fame of genius or diligence in the research. The fact is, Britain was subdued under the conduct of Agricola, and that circumstance may justify the present attempt. Antecedent writers adorned conjecture with all the graces of language; what I have to offer will have nothing but the plain truth to recommend it.

Britain, of all the islands known to the Romans, is the largest. On the east, it extends towards Germany; on the west, towards Spain (*b*); and on the south, it lies opposite to the coast of Gaul. The northern extremity is lashed by the billows of a prodigious sea, and no land is known beyond it. The form of the island has been compared by two eloquent writers (Livy among the ancients, and Fabius Rusticus among the moderns) to an oblong shield. or a two-edged ax. The comparison, if we except Caledonia, may be allowed to be just, and hence the shape of a part has been, by vulgar error, ascribed to the whole. Caledonia stretches a vast length of way towards the north. The promontories, that jut out into the sea,

render the form of the country broken and irregular, but it sharpens to a point at the extremity, and terminates in the shape of a wedge.

By Agricola's order the Roman fleet (*c*), sailed round the northern point, and made the first certain discovery that Britain is an island. The cluster of isles called the Orcades (*d*), till then wholly unknown, was in this expedition added to the Roman empire. Thule (*e*), which had lain concealed in the gloom of winter and a depth of eternal snows, was also seen by our navigators. The sea in those parts is said to be a sluggish mass of stagnated water (*f*), hardly yielding to the stroke of the oar, and never agitated by winds and tempests. The natural cause may be that high lands and mountains, which occasion commotions in the air, are deficient in those regions; not to mention that such a prodigious body of water, in a vast and boundless ocean, is heaved and impelled with difficulty. But a philosophical account of the ocean and its periodical motions is not the design of this essay: the subject has employed the pen of others. To what they have said I shall only add, that there is not in any other part of the world an expanse of water that rages with such uncontrolled dominion, now receiving the discharge of various rivers, and, at times, driving their currents back to their source. Nor is it on the coast only that the flux and reflux of the tide are perceived: the swell of the sea forces its way into the recesses of the land, forming bays and islands in the heart of the country, and foaming amidst hills and mountains, as in its natural channel.

XI. Whether the first inhabitants of Britain were natives of the island (*a*), or adventitious settlers, is a question lost in the mists of antiquity. The Britons, like other barbarous nations, have no monuments of their history. They differ in the make and habit of their bodies, and hence various inferences concerning their origin. The ruddy hair and lusty limbs of the Caledonians (*b*) indicate a German extraction. That the Silures (*c*) were at first a colony of Iberians is concluded, not without probability, from the olive tincture of the skin, the natural curl of the hair, and the situation of the country, so convenient to the coast of Spain. On the side opposite to Gaul the inhabitants resemble their neighbours on the continent; but whether that resemblance is the effect of one common origin, or of the climate in contiguous nations operating on the make and temperament of the human body, is a point not easy to be decided. All circumstances considered, it is rather probable that a colony from Gaul took possession of a country so inviting by its proximity (*d*). You will find in both nations the same religious rites, and the same (*e*) superstition. The two languages differ but little (*f*). In provoking danger they discover the same ferocity, and in the encounter, the same timidity. The Britons, however, not yet enfeebled by a long peace, are possessed of superior courage (g). The Gauls, we learn from history, were formerly a warlike people; but sloth, the consequence of inactive times, has debased their genius, and virtue died with expiring liberty. Among such of the Britons (*h*), as have been for some time sub-

dued, the same degeneracy is observable. The free and unconquered part of the nation retains at this hour the ferocity of the ancient Gauls.

XII. The strength of their armies consists in infantry, though some of their warriors take the field in chariots (*a*). The person of highest distinction guides the reins, while his martial followers, mounted in the same vehicle, annoy the enemy. The Britons were formerly governed by a race of kings (*b*): at present they are divided into factions under various chieftains; and this disunion, which prevents their acting in concert for a public interest, is a circumstance highly favourable to the Roman arms against a warlike people, independent, fierce, and obstinate. A confederation (*c*) of two or more states to repel the common danger is seldom known: they fight in parties, and the nation is subdued.

The climate is unfavourable, always damp with rains, and overcast with clouds. Intense cold is never felt. The days are longer than in our southern regions; the nights remarkably bright, and, towards the extremity of the island, so very short (*d*), that between the last gleam of day and the returning dawn the interval is scarce perceptible. In a serene sky when no clouds intervene to obstruct the sight, the sun, we are told, appears all night long, neither setting in the west, nor rising in the east, but always moving above the horizon. The cause of this phænomenon may be, that the surface of the earth towards the northern extremities, being flat and level, the shade never rises to any considerable height,

and the sky still retaining the rays of the sun (*e*), the heavenly bodies continue visible.

The soil does not afford either the vine, the olive, or the fruits of warmer climates: but it is otherwise fertile, and yields corn in great plenty. Vegetation is quick in shooting up, and slow in coming to maturity. Both effects are reducible to the same cause, the constant moisture of the atmosphere and the dampness of the soil. Britain contains, to reward the conqueror, mines of gold and silver (*f*), and other metals. The sea produces pearls (*g*), but of a dark and livid colour. This defect is ascribed by some to want of skill in this kind of fishery: the people, employed in gathering, content themselves in gleaning what happens to be thrown upon the shore, whereas in the Red Sea the shell-fish are found clinging to the rocks, and taken alive. For my part, I am inclined to think that the British pearl is of an inferior quality, I can not impute to avarice a neglect of its interest.

XIII. The Britons are willing to supply our armies with new levies; they pay their tribute without a murmur; and they perform all the services of government with alacrity, provided they have no reason to complain of oppression. When injured, their resentment is quick, sudden, and impatient: they are conquered, not broken-hearted; reduced to obedience, not subdued to slavery. Even Julius Cæsar, the first of the Romans (*a*) who set his foot in Britain at the head of an army, can only be said by a prosperous battle to have struck the natives with terror, and to have made himself master of the sea-shore.

The discoverer, not the conqueror of the island, he did no more than show it to posterity Rome could not boast of a conquest. The civil wars broke out soon after, and, in that scene of distraction, when the swords of the leading men were drawn against their country, it was natural to lose sight of Britain. During the peace that followed the same neglect continued: Augustus called it the wisdom of his councils (*b*), and Tiberius made it a rule of state-policy.

That Caligula meditated an invasion of Britain (*c*) is a fact well known; but the expedition, like his mighty preparations against Germany, was rendered abortive by the capricious temper of the man, resolving always without consideration, and repenting without experiment. The grand enterprise was reserved for the emperor Claudius (*d*,) who transported into Britain an army composed of regular legions, besides a large body of auxiliaries. With the officers appointed to conduct the war, he joined Vespasian, who there laid the foundation of that success which afterwards attended him. Several states were conquered, kings were led in captivity, and the Fates beheld Vespasian giving an earnest of his future glory.

XIV. The first officer of consular rank, that commanded in Britain, was Aulus Plautius (*a*). To him succeeded Ostorius Scapula (*b*); both eminent for their military character. Under their auspices the southern part of Britain took the form of a province, and received a colony of veterans (*c*). Certain dis-

tricts were assigned to Cogidunus, a king who reigned over part of the country. He lived within our own memory, preserving always his faith unviolated, and exhibiting a striking proof of that refined policy, with which it has ever been the practice of Rome to make even kings accomplices in the servitude of mankind.

The next governor was Didius Gallus (*d*). He preserved the acquisitions made by his predecessors, without aiming at an extension of territory, and without any advantage, except a few forts, which he built on the remote borders of the province, in hopes of gaining some pretension to the fame of having enlarged the frontier. Veranius (*e*) succeeded to the command, but died within the year. Suetonius Paulinus (*f*) was the next in succession. That officer pushed on the war in one continued series of prosperity for two years together. In that time he subdued several states, and secured his conquest by a chain of posts and garrisons. Confiding in the strength, which he had thus established, he formed the plan of reducing the isle of Mona (*g*), the grand resource from which the malecontents drew their supplies. But having in that expedition, turned his back on the conquered provinces, he gave an opportunity for a general revolt.

XV. The Britons, relieved from their fears by the absence of the commander in chief, began to descant on the horrors of slavery (*a*). They stated their grievances, and to inflame resentment, painted every thing in the most glaring colours. "What

"was now the consequence of their passive spirit?
"The hand of oppression falls on the tame and ab-
"ject with greater weight. Each state was formerly
"subject to a single king (*b*), but now two masters
"rule with an iron rod. The general gluts himself
"with the blood of the vanquished, and the imperial
"procurator devours our property. Those haughty
"tyrants may act in concert, or they may be at va-
"riance; but in either case the lot of the Britons is
"the same. The centurions of the general, and the
"followers of the tax-gatherer add pride and inso-
"lence to injustice and rapacity. Nothing is safe
"from avarice, nothing by lust unviolated. In the
"field of battle, the booty is for the brave and war-
"like: at present, cowards and abject wretches seize
"the possessions of the natives; to them the Britons
"tamely yield up their children; for them they make
"new levies, and, in short, the good of his country is
"the only cause in which a Briton has forgot to die.
"Compute the number of men, born in freedom,
"who inhabit the island, and the Roman invaders
"are but a handful. It was thus the Germans argued,
"and they shook off the yoke (*c*). No ocean rolled
"between them and the invader: they were separa-
"ted by a river only. The Britons have every motive
"to excite their valour. They have their country to
"defend, and they have their liberty to assert; they
"have wives and children to urge them on; and they
"have parents, who sue to them for protection. On
"the part of the Romans, if we except luxury and
"avarice, what incentives are there to draw them to
"the field? Let British valour emulate the virtue of

"ancient times, and the invaders, like their own "deified Cæsar, will abandon the island. The loss "of a single battle, and even a second, can not decide "the fate of a whole people. Many advantages list "on the side of misery. To attack with fury, and "persevere with constancy, belongs to men who "groan under oppression. The gods, at length, "behold the Britons with an eye of compassion: they "have removed the Roman general from his station; "they detain him and his army in another island "(*d*). The oppressed have gained an advantage, too "often difficult to obtain: they can now deliberate; "they are met in council. In designs like these, the "whole danger lies in being detected: act like men, "and success will be the issue of the war."

XVI. Inflamed by these and such like topics, the spirit of revolt was diffused through the country. With one consent they took up arms, under the conduct of Boadicea (*a*), a queen descended from a race of royal ancestors. In Britain there is no rule of distinction to exclude the female line from the throne, or the command of armies. The insurgents rushed to the attack with headlong fury; they found the Romans dispersed in their garrisons: they put all to the sword; they stormed the forts; they attacked the capital of the colony, which they considered as the seat of oppression, and with fire and sword laid it level with the ground. Whatever revenge could prompt, or victory inspire, was executed with unrelenting cruelty; and if Suetonius (*b*), on the first intelligence, had not hastened back by rapid marches,

Britain had been lost. By the event of a single battle the province was recovered, though the embers of rebellion were not quite extinguished. Numbers of the malecontents, conscious of their share in the revolt, and dreading the vengeance of Suetonius, still continued under arms.

The truth is, notwithstanding the excellent qualities that distinguished the Roman general, it was the blemish of his character, that he proceeded always against the vanquished, even after they surrendered, with excessive rigour. Justice, under his administration, had frequently the air of revenge for a personal injury. In his public proceedings he mingled too much of his own passions, and was therefore recalled, to make way for Petronius Turpilianus (*c*), a man of less asperity, new to the Britons, and, having no resentments, likely to be satisfied on moderate terms. He restored the tranquillity of the island, and, without attempting any thing farther, resigned the province to Trebellius Maximus (*d*), an officer of no experience, by nature indolent and inactive, but possessed of certain popular arts that reconciled the minds of men to his administration. The barbarians, at this time, had acquired a taste for elegant and alluring vices. The civil wars, which soon afterwards convulsed the empire, were a fair apology for the pacific temper of the general. His army, however, was not free from intestine discord. The soldiers, formerly inured to discipline, grew wanton in idleness, and broke out into open sedition. To avoid the fury of his men, Trebellius was obliged to save himself by flight. Having lain for some time in a place of con-

cealment, he returned with an aukward air to take upon him the command. His dignity was impaired, and his spirit humbled. From that time his authority was feeble and precarious. It seemed to be a compromise between the parties: the general remained unmolested, the soldiers uncontrolled ,and on these terms the mutiny ended without bloodshed. Vettius Bolanus (*e*) was the next commander; but the distractions of the civil war still continuing, he did not think it advisable to introduce a plan of regular discipline. The same inactive disposition on the part of the general, and the same mutinous spirit among the soldiers, still prevailed. The only difference was, that the character of Bolanus was without a blemish. If he did not establish his authority, he lived on good terms with all; beloved, though not respected.

XVII. When Britain, with the rest of the Roman world, fell to the lot of Vespasian, the ablest officers were sent to reduce the island, powerful armies were set in motion, and the spirit of the natives began to droop. In order to spread a general terror, Petilius Cerealis (*a*) fell with sudden fury on the Brigantes (*b*), in point of numbers the most considerable state in the whole province. Various battles were fought, with alternate success, and great effusion of blood. At length the greatest part of that extensive country was either subdued, or involved in all the calamities of war. The fame of Cerealis grew to a size that might discourage the ablest successor, and yet under that disadvantage Julius Frontinus (*c*) undertook the command. His talents did not suffer by the com-

parison. He was a man truly great, and sure to signalize himself, whenever a fair opportunity called forth his abilities. He reduced to subjection the powerful and warlike state of the Silures (*d*), and, though in that expedition he had to cope not only with a fierce and obstinate enemy, but with the difficulties of a country almost impracticable, it was his glory that he surmounted every obstacle.

XVIII. Such was the state of Britain, and such the events of war, when Agricola arrived about the middle of summer (*a*) to take upon him the command. He found an army lulled in indolence and security, as if the campaign was at an end, while the enemy was on the watch to seize the first opportunity. The Ordovicians (*b*), not long before his arrival, had fallen upon a party of horse, that happened to be quartered in their district, and put them almost all to the sword. By this blow the courage of the Britons was once more revived: the bold and resolute declared for open war, while others, less sanguine, were against unsheathing the sword, till the character and genius of the new governor should be better known.

Many things conspired to embarrass Agricola: the summer was far advanced; the troops were stationed at different quarters, expecting a cessation of arms during the remainder of the year: and to act on the defensive, content with strengthening the weakest stations, was in the opinion of the best officers the most prudent measure. These were circumstances unfavourable to a spirit of enterprise; but the general resolved to put his army in motion,

and face the danger without delay. For this purpose, he drew together various detachments from the legions, and, with the addition of a body of auxiliaries, marched against the enemy. The Ordovicians continuing to decline an engagement on the open plain, he determined to seek them on their heights, and, to animate his men by his own example, he advanced at the head of the line. A battle ensued, and the issue was the destruction of the Ordovician state. Knowing of what moment it is to follow the first impressions of fame, and little doubting but that every thing would fall before an army flushed with victory, Agricola formed a plan for the reduction of the isle of Mona,(*c*), from which Paulinus had been recalled by the general insurrection of the province, as already mentioned.

For the execution of an enterprise so sudden and important, no measures had been concerted, and, by consequence, no vessels were ready to transport the troops. The genius and resolution of the general supplied all deficiencies. He draughted from the auxiliaries a chosen band, well acquainted with the fordable places, and inured to the national practice of swimming across lakes and rivers with such dexterity, that they could manage their arms and guide their horses at the same time. This select corps, free from the incumbrance of their baggage, dashed into the water, and made their way with vigour towards the island. This mode of attack astonished the enemy, who expected nothing less than a fleet of transports, and a regular embarkation. Struck with consternation, they thought nothing impregnable to

men, who waged so unusual a war. In despair they sued for peace, and surrendered the island. The event added new lustre to the name of Agricola, who had thus set out with a spirit of enterprise, and crowded so much glory into that part of the year, which is usually trifled away in vain parade and the homage of flatteries. The moderation with which he enjoyed his victory was remarkable. He had reduced the vanquished to obedience, and the act, he said, did not deserve the name of victory, nor even of an expedition. In his dispatches to Rome he assumed no merit, nor were his letters, according to custom, decorated (*d*) with sprigs of laurel: but this self-denial served only to enhance his fame. From the modesty of a commander, who could undervalue such important services, men inferred that projects of vast extent were even then in his contemplation.

XIX. Agricola was well acquainted with the manners and national character of the Britons: he knew by the experience of past events, that conquest, while it loads the vanquished with injury and oppression, can never be secure and permanent. He determined, therefore, to suppress the seeds of future hostility. He began a reform in his own household; a necessary work, but attended often with no less difficulty than the administration of a province. He removed his slaves and freedmen from every department of public business. Promotions in the army no longer went by favour, or the partiality of the centurions; merit decided, and the man of worth, Agricola knew, would be the most faithful soldier. To

know every thing, and yet overlook a great deal; to forgive slight offences (*a*), and treat matters of importance with due severity, was the rule of his conduct; never vindictive, and in many instances disarmed by penitence. The prevention of crimes was what he wished, and to that end, in the disposal of officers he made choice of men, whose conduct promised to supersede the necessity of punishment.

The exigencies of the army called for large contributions of corn and other supplies, and yet he lightened the burthen by just and equal assessments, providing at the same time against the extortions of the tax-gatherer (*b*), more odious and intolerable than even the tax itself. It had been the settled practice of the collectors to engross all the corn, and then, adding mockery to injustice, to make the injured Briton wait at the door of the public granary (*c*), humbly supplicating that he might be permitted to repurchase his own grain, which he was afterwards obliged to sell at an inferior price. A further grievance was, that, instead of delivering the requisite quantity of corn at the nearest and most convenient magazines, the Britons were forced to make tedious journeys through difficult cross-country roads, in order to supply camps and stations at a remote distance; and thus the business, which might have been conducted with convenience to all, was converted into a job to gratify the avarice of a few.

XX. In the first year of Agricola's administration these abuses were all suppressed. The consequence was, that peace, which through the neglect or con-

nivance of former governors was no less terrible than war itself, began to diffuse its blessings, and to be relished by all. As soon as the (*a*) summer opened, he assembled his army and marched in quest of the enemy. Ever present at the head of the lines, he encouraged the strenuous by commendation; he rebuked the sluggard who fell from his rank: he went in person to mark out the station for encampments (*b*); he sounded the æstuaries, and explored the woods and forests (*c*). The Britons, in the mean time, were by sudden incursions kept in a constant alarm. Having spread a general terror through the country, he then suspended his operations, that, in the interval of repose, the barbarians might taste the sweets of peace. In consequence of these measures, several states, which till then had breathed a spirit of independence, were induced to lay aside their hostile intentions, and to give hostages for their pacific behaviour. Along the frontier of the several districts, which had submitted, a chain of posts was established, with so much care and judgment, that no part of the country, even where the Roman arms had never penetrated, could think itself secure from the vigour of the conqueror.

XXI. To introduce a system of new and wise regulations was the business of the following winter. A fierce and savage people, running wild in woods, would be ever addicted to a life of warfare. To wean them from those habits, Agricola held forth the baits of pleasure, encouraging the natives, as well by public assistance, as by warm exhortations, to

build temples (*a*), courts of justice, and commodious dwelling-houses. He bestowed encomiums on such as cheerfully obeyed: the slow and uncomplying were branded with reproach; and thus a spirit of emulation diffused itself, operating like a sense of duty. To establish a plan of education, and give the sons of the leading chiefs a tincture of letters, was part of his policy By way of encouragement, he praised their talents, and already saw them, by the force of their natural genius, rising superior (*b*) to the attainments of the Gauls. The consequence was that they, who had always disdained the Roman language, began to cultivate its beauties. The Roman apparel was seen without prejudice, and the toga became a fashionable part of dress. By degrees the charms of vice gained admission to their hearts: baths, and porticos, and elegant banquets grew into vogue; and the new manners, which, in fact, served only to sweeten slavery, were by the unsuspecting Britons called the arts of polished humanity.

XXII. In the course of the third year (*a*) the progress of the Roman arms discovered new nations, whose territories were laid waste as far as the æstuary, called the Firth of Tay (*b*). The legions had to struggle with all the difficulties of a tempestuous season; and yet the barbarians, struck with a general panic, never dared to hazard an engagement. The country, as far as the Romans advanced, was secured by forts and garrisons (*c*). Men of skill and military science observed that no officer knew better than Agricola, how to seize, on a sudden view, the

most advantageous situation, and, accordingly, not one of the stations, fortified by his direction, was taken by storm; not one was reduced to capitulate; not one was surrendered or abandoned to the enemy. At every post, to enable the garrison to stand a siege, a year's provision was provided, and, each place having strength sufficient, frequent sallies were made; the besiegers were repulsed: and the Romans passed the winter secure from danger. The consequence of these precautions was, that the enemy, who had been accustomed to retrieve in the winter what they lost in the antecedent summer, saw no difference of seasons: they were defeated every where, and reduced to the last despair. Avarice of fame was no part of Agricola's character; nor was he ever known to arrogate to himself the praises due to other officers. From the commander of a legion to the lowest centurion, all found in their general a willing witness of their conduct. In his manner of expressing his disapprobation, he was thought to mix a degree of asperity. The truth is, his antipathy to bad men was equalled by nothing but his politeness to the deserving. His anger soon passed away and left no trace behind. From his silence you had nothing to fear. Scorning to disguise his sentiments, he acted always with a generous warmth, at the hazard of making enemies. To harbour secret resentment was not in his nature.

XXIII. The business of the fourth campaign (*a*) was to secure the country, which had been overrun, not conquered, in the preceding summer; and

if the spirit of the troops and the glory of the Roman name had been capable of suffering any limits, there was in Britain itself a convenient spot, where the boundary of the empire might have been fixed. The place for that purpose was, where the waters of the Glota and Bodotria (*b*), driven up the country by the influx of two opposite seas, are hindered from joining by a narrow neck of land, which was then guarded by a chain of forts (*c*). On the south side of the isthmus the whole country was bridled by the Romans, and evacuated by the enemy, who were driven, as it were, into another island (*d*).

XXIV. In the fifth summer (*a*) Agricola made an expedition by sea. He embarked in the first Roman vessel that ever crossed the æstuary (*b*), and having penetrated into regions till then unknown, he defeated the inhabitants in several engagements, and lined the coast, which lies opposite to Ireland, with a body of troops: not so much from an apprehension of danger, as with a view to future projects. He saw that Ireland, lying between Britain and Spain, and at the same time convenient to the ports of Gaul, might prove a valuable acquisition, capable of giving an easy communication, and, of course, strength and union to provinces disjoined by nature.

Ireland is less than Britain, but exceeds in magnitude all the islands of the Mediterranean. The soil, the climate, the manners and genius of the inhabitants, differ little from those of Britain. By the means of merchants resorting thither for the sake of commerce, the harbours and approaches to the coast

are well known. One of their petty kings (*c*) who had been forced to fly from the fury of a domestic faction, was received by the Roman general, and, under a show of friendship, detained to be of use on some future occasions. I have often heard Agricola declare that a single legion, with a moderate band of auxiliaries, would be sufficient to complete the conquest of Ireland. Such an event, he said, would contribute greatly to bridle the stubborn spirit of the Britons, who, in that case would see, with dismay, the Roman arms triumphant, and every spark of liberty extinguished round their coast.

XXV. In the campaign (*a*), which began in the sixth summer, having reason to apprehend a general confederacy of the nations beyond the Firth of Bodotria, and fearing, in a country not yet explored, the danger of a surprise, Agricola ordered his ships to sail across the gulf (*b*), and gain some knowledge of those new regions. The fleet, now acting, for the first time, in concert with the land forces, proceeded in sight of the army, forming a magnificent spectacle, and adding terror to the war. It frequently happened, that in the same camp were seen the infantry and cavalry intermixed with the marines, all indulging their joy, full of their adventures, and magnifying the history of their exploits; the soldier describing, in the usual style of military ostentation, the forests which he had passed, the mountains which he climbed, and the barbarians whom he put to the rout, while the sailor, no less impor-

tant, had his storms and tempests, the wonders of the deep, and the spirit with which he conquered wind and waves.

At the sight of the Roman fleet, the Britons, according to intelligence gained from the prisoners, were struck with consternation, convinced that every resource was cut off, since the sea, which had always been their shelter, was now laid open to the invader. In this distress, the Caledonians resolved to try the issue of a battle. Warlike preparations were instantly begun with a degree of exertion, great in reality, but, as is always the case in matters obscure and distant, magnified by the voice of fame. Without waiting for the commencement of hostilities, they stormed the Roman forts and castles (*c*), and by provoking danger, made such an impression, that several officers in Agricola's army, disguising their fear under the specious appearance of prudent councils, recommended a sudden retreat, to avoid the disgrace of being driven back to the other side of the Firth. Meanwile Agricola received intelligence that the enemy meditated an attack in various quarters at once, and thereupon, lest superior numbers, in a country where he was a stranger to the defiles and passes, should be able to surround him, he divided his army, and marched forward in three columns.

XXVI. The Caledonians, informed of this arrangement, changed their plan, and, in the dead of night, fell with their united force upon the ninth legion (*a*), then the weakest of the Roman army.

They surprised the advanced guard, and having, in the confusion of sleep and terror, put the sentinels to the sword, they forced their way through the entrenchments. The conflict was in the very camp, when Agricola, who had been informed that the barbarians were on their march, and instantly pursued their steps, came up to the relief of the legion. He ordered the swiftest of the horse and light infantry to advance with expedition, and charge the enemy in the rear, while his whole army set up a general shout. At break of day the Roman banners glittered in view of the barbarians. who found themselves hemmed in by two armies, and began to relax their vigour. The spirit of the legion revived. The men perceived that the moment of distress was over, and the struggle was now for glory. Acting no longer on the defensive, they rushed on to the attack. In the very gates (*b*) of the camp a fierce and obstinate engagement followed. The besieged legion, and the forces that came to their relief, fought with a spirit of emulation; the latter contending for the honour of succouring the distressed, and the former, to prove that they stood in no need of assistance. The Caledonians were put to the rout; and if the woods and marshes (*c*) had not favoured their escape, that single action had put an end to the war.

XXVII. By this victory, so complete and glorious, the Roman army was inspired with confidence to such a degree, that they now pronounced themselves invincible. Nothing could stand before

them: they desired to be led into the recesses of the country, and, by following their blow, to penetrate to the extremity of the island. Even the prudent of the day before changed their tone with the event, and talked of nothing but victory and conquest. Such is the tax, which the commanders of armies must always pay: the merit of success is claimed by all; calamity is imputed to the general only.

The Caledonians, notwithstanding their defeat, abated nothing from their ferocity. Their want of success, they said, was not to be ascribed to superior courage; it was the chance of war, or, perhaps, the skill of the Roman general. In this persuasion they resolved to keep the field. They listed the young men of their nation; they sent their wives and children to a place of safety; they held public conventions of the several states, and with solemn rites and sacrifices (*a*) formed a league in the cause of liberty. The campaign ended in this manner, and the two armies, inflamed with mutual animosity, retired into winter-quarters.

XXVIII. In the course of the same summer, a cohort of the Usipians (*a*) which had been raised in Germany, and thence transported to serve in Britain, performed an exploit so daring and extraordinary, that in this place it may be allowed to merit attention. Having murdered the centurion, who was left in command, and also the soldiers, who, for the purpose of introducing military discipline, had been incorporated with the several companies (*b*), they seized three light galleys, and forcing the masters

on board, determined to sail from the island. One of the pilots made his escape, and suspicion falling on the other two, they were both killed on the spot. Before their design transpired, the deserters put to sea, to the astonishment of all who beheld the vessels under way.

They had not sailed far, when they became the sport of winds and waves. They made frequent descents on the coast, in quest of plunder, and had various conflicts with the natives, victorious in some places, and in others beat back to their ships. Reduced at length to the extremity of famine, they fed on their companions, at first devouring the weakest, and afterwards deciding among themselves by lot. In this distress they sailed round the extremity of the island (*c*), and, through want of skill in navigation, were wrecked on the continent, where they were treated as pirates, first by the Suevians, and afterwards by the Frisians. Being sold to slavery, and in the way of commerce turned over to different masters, some of them reached the Roman settlements on the banks of the Rhine, and there grew famous for their sufferings, and the bold singularity of their voyage.

In the beginning of the following summer (*d*) Agricola met with a stroke of affliction by the loss of a son, about a year old. He did not upon this occasion affect, like many others, the character of a man superior to the feelings of nature; nor yet did he suffer his grief to sink him down into unbecoming weakness. He felt the impression, but regret was lost in the avocations of war.

XXIX. In the opening of the campaign, he dispatched his fleet, with orders to annoy the coast by frequent descents in different places, and spread a general alarm. He put himself, in the mean time, at the head of his army equipped for expedition, and taking with him a select band of the bravest Britons, of known and approved fidelity, he advanced as far as the Grampian hills (*a*), where the enemy was already posted in force. Undismayed by their former defeat, the barbarians expected no other issue than a total overthrow, or a brave revenge. Experience had taught them that the common cause required a vigorous exertion of their united strength. For this purpose, by treaties of alliance, and by deputations to the several cantons, thay had drawn together the strength of their nation. Upwards of thirty thousand men appeared in arms, and their force was increasing every day. The youth of the country poured in from all quarters, and even the men in years, whose vigour was still unbroken, repaired to the army, proud of their past exploits, and the ensigns of honour which they had gained by their martial spirit. Among the chieftains, distinguished by their birth and valour, the most renowned was Galgacus (*b*). The multitude gathered around him, eager for action, and burning with uncommon ardour. He harangued them to the following effect:

XXX. "When I consider the motives that have "roused us to this war; when I reflect on the neces- "sity that now demands our firmest vigour, I expect "every thing great and noble from that union of

" sentiment that pervades us all. From this day I " date the freedom of Britain. We are the men, who " never crouched in bondage. Beyond this spot there " is no land, where liberty can find a refuge. Even " the sea is shut against us, while the Roman " fleet is hovering on the coast. To draw the sword " in the cause of freedom is the true glory of the " brave, and, in our condition, cowardice itself " would throw away the scabbard. In the battles, " which have been hitherto fought with alternate " vicissitudes of fortune, our countrymen might well " repose some hopes in us; they might consider us " as their last resource; they knew us to be the no- " blest sons of Britain, placed in the last recesses of " the land, in the very sanctuary of liberty. We have " not so much as seen the melancholy regions, where " slavery has debased mankind. We have lived in " freedom, and our eyes have been unpolluted by " the sight of ignoble bondage.

" The extremity of the earth is ours: defended " by our situation, we have to this day preserved " our honour and the rights of men. But we are no " longer safe in our obscurity: our retreat is laid " open; the enemy rushes on, and, as things un- " known are ever magnified, he thinks a mighty " conquest lies before him. But this is the end of " the habitable world, and rocks and brawling " waves fill all the space behind. The Romans are " in the heart of our country; no submission can " satisfy their pride; no concessions can appease " their fury. While the land has any thing left, it is " the theatre of war; when it can yield no more

" they explore the seas for hidden treasure. Are the " nations rich? Roman avarice is their enemy. Are " they poor? Roman ambition lords it over them. " The east and the west have been rifled. and the " spoiler is still insatiate. The Romans, by a strange " singularity of nature, are the only people who in- " vade, with equal ardour, the wealth and the po- " verty of nations. To rob, to ravage, and to mur- " der, in their imposing language, are the arts of " civil policy. When they have made the world a " solitude, they call it peace.

XXXI. " Our children and relatives are dear to " us all. It is an affection planted in our breast by " the hand of nature. And yet those tender pledges " are ravished from us to serve in distant lands. " Are our wives, our sisters, and our daughters safe " from brutal lust and open violation? The insidi- " ous conqueror, under the mask of hospitality and " friendship, brands them with dishonour. Our " money is conveyed into their treasury, and our " corn into their granaries. Our limbs and bodies " are worn out in clearing woods, and draining " marshes: and what have been our wages! Stripes " and insult. The lot of the meanest slave, born in " servitude, is preferable to ours: he is sold but " once, and his master maintains him; but Britain " every day invites new tyrants, and every day " pampers their pride. In a private family the slave " who is last bought in, provokes the mirth and " ridicule of the whole domestic crew; and in this " general servitude, to which Rome has reduced " the world, the case is the same: we are treated, at

" first, as objects of derision, and then marked out " for destruction.

" What better lot can we expect? We have no " arable lands to cultivate for a master; no mines to " dig for his avarice; no harbours to improve for his " commerce. To what end should the conqueror " spare us? Our virtue and undaunted spirit are " crimes in the eyes of the conqueror, and will ren- " der us more obnoxious. Our remote situation, " hitherto the retreat of freedom, and on that ac- " count the more suspected, will only serve to in- " flame the jealousy of our enemies. We must ex- " pect no mercy. Let us therefore dare like men. " We all are summoned by the great call of nature; " not only those who know the value of liberty, but " even such as think life on any terms the dearest " blessing. The Trinobantes (*a*), who had only a " woman to lead them on, were able to carry fire " and sword through a whole colony. They stormed " the camps of the enemy, and, if success had not " intoxicated them, they had been, beyond all " doubt, the deliverers of their country. And shall " not we, unconquered, and undebased by slavery, " a nation ever free, and struggling now, not to " recover, but to ensure our liberties (*b*), shall we " not go forth the champions of our country? Shall " we not, by one generous effort, show the Romans, " that we are the men whom Caledonia has reserved " to be assertors of the public weal?

XXXII. " We know the manners of the Romans: " and are we to imagine that their valour in the field

" is equal to their arrogance in time of peace? By " our dissensions their glory rises; the vices of their " enemies are the negative virtues of the Roman " army; if that may be called an army, which is no " better thon a motley crew of various nations, held " together by success, and ready to crumble away " in the first reverse of fortune. That this will be " their fate, no one can doubt, unless we suppose " that the Gaul, the German, and (with shame I " add) the Britons, a mercenary band, who hire " their blood in a foreign service, will adhere from " principle to a new master, whom they have lately " served, and long detested. They are now enlisted " by awe and terror: break their fetters, and the " man who forgets to fear, will seek revenge.

" All that can inspire the human heart, every " motive that can excite us to deeds of valour, is " on our side. The Romans have no wives (*a*) in " the field to animate their drooping spirit; no " parents to reproach their want of courage. They " are not listed in the cause of their country: their " country, if any they have (*b*), lies at a distance. " They are a band of mercenaries, a wretched hand- " ful of devoted men, who tremble and look aghast " as they roll their eyes around, and see on every " side objects unknown before. The sky over their " heads, the sea, the woods, all things conspire to " fill them with doubt and terror. They come like " victims, delivered into our hands by the gods, to " fall this day a sacrifice to freedom.

" In the ensuing battle be not deceived by false " appearances; the glitter of gold and silver (*c*) may

"dazzle the eye; but to us it is harmless, to the "Romans no protection. In their own ranks we "shall find a number of generous warriors ready to "assist our cause. The Britons know that for our "common liberties we draw the avenging sword. "The Gauls will remember that they once were a "free people; and the Germans, as the Usipians (*d*) "lately did, will desert their colours. The Romans "have left nothing in their rear to oppose us in the "pursuit; their forts are ungarrisoned; the veterans "in their colonies droop with age; in their munici- "pal towns, nothing but anarchy, despotic govern- "ment, and disaffected subjects. In me behold your "general; behold an army of freeborn men. Your "enemy is before you, and, in his train, heavy "tributes, drudgery in the mines, and all the hor- "rors of slavery. Are those calamities to be entailed "upon us? Or shall this day relieve us by a brave "revenge? There is the field of battle, and let that "determine. Let us seek the enemy, and, as we "rush upon him, remember the glory delivered "down to us by our ancestors; and let each man "think that upon his sword depends the fate of all "posterity."

XXXIII. This speech was received, according to the custom of barbarians, with war-songs, with savage howlings, and a wild uproar of military applause. Their battalions began to form the line of battle; the brave and warlike rushed forward to the front, and the field glittered with the blaze of arms. The Romans on their side burned with

equal ardour. Agricola saw the impatient spirit of his men, but did not think proper to begin the engagement, till he confirmed their courage by the following speech: "It is now, my fellow soldiers, "the eighth year (*a*) of our service in Britain. "During that time, the genius and good auspices "of the Roman empire, with your assistance and "unwearied labour, have made the island our own. "In all our expeditions, in every battle the enemy "has felt your valour, and by your toil and perse- "verance the very nature of the country has been "conquered. I have been proud of my soldiers, "and you have had no reason to blush for your "general. We have carried the terror of our arms "beyond the limits of any other soldiers, or any "former general (*b*); we have penetrated to the ex- "tremity of the land. This was formerly the boast "of vain-glory, the mere report of fame; it is now "historical truth. We have gained possession sword "in hand; we are encamped on the utmost limits of "the island. Britain is discovered, and by the dis- "covery conquered.

"In our long and laborious marches, when you "were obliged to traverse moors, and fens, and "rivers, and to climb steep and craggy moun- "tains, it was still the cry of the bravest amongst "you, When shall we be led to battle? When shall "we see the enemy? Behold them now before you. "They are hunted out of their dens and caverns; "your wish is granted, and the field of glory lies "open to your swords. One victory more makes "this new world our own; but remember that a

" defeat involves us all in the last distress. If we " consider the progress of our arms, to look back " is glorious; the tract of country that lies behind " us, the forests which you have explored, and the " æstuaries which you have passed, are monuments " of eternal fame. But our fame can only last, while " we press forward on the enemy. If we give " ground, if we think of a retreat, we have the " same difficulties to surmount again. The success, " which is now our pride, will in that case be our " worst misfortune. We are not sufficiently ac- " quainted with the course of the country; the " enemy knows the defiles and marshes, and will " be supplied with provisions in abundance. We " have not those advantages, but we have hands " that can grasp the sword, and we have valour (*c*) " that gives us every thing. With me it has long " been a settled principle, that the back of a general " or his army is never safe. Which of you would " not rather die with honour, than live in infamy? " But life and honour are this day inseparable; they " are fixed to one spot. Should fortune declare " against us, we die on the utmost limits of the " world; and to die, where nature ends, can not be " deemed inglorious.

XXXIV. " If our present struggle were with " nations wholly unknown; if we had to do with an " enemy new to our swords, I should call to mind " the example of other armies. At present what can " I proprose so bright and animating as your own " exploits? I appeal to your own eyes: behold the

"men drawn up against you: are they not the same, "who last year, under covert of the night, assaulted "the ninth legion (*a*), and, upon the first shout of "our army, fled before you? A band of dastards! "who have subsisted hitherto, because of all the "Britons they are the most expeditious runaways.

"In woods and forests the fierce and noble animals "attack the huntsmen, and rush on certain destruc- "tion; but the timorous herd is soon dispersed, "scared by the sound and clamour of the chase. In "like manner, the brave and warlike Britons have "long since perished by the sword. The refuse of "the nation still remains. They have not staid to "make head against you; they are hunted down; "they are caught in the toils. Benumbed with fear, "they stand motionless on yonder spot, which you "will render for ever memorable by a glorious vic- "tory. Here you may end your labours, and close "a scene of fifty years (*b*) by one great, one glorious "day. Let your country see, and let the common- "wealth bear witness, if the conquest of Britain has "been a lingering work; if the seeds of rebellion "have not been crushed, that we at least have done "our duty."

XXXV. During this harangue, whilst Agricola was still addressing the men, a more than common ardour glowed on every countenance. As soon as the general ended, the field rung with shouts of applause. Impatient for the onset, the soldiers grasped their arms. Agricola restrained their violence, till

he formed his order of battle. The auxiliary infantry (*a*), in number about eight thousand, occupied the centre. The wings consisted of three thousand horse. The legions were stationed in the rear, at the head of the entrenchments, as a body of reserve to support the ranks, if necessary, but otherwise to remain inactive, that a victory, obtained without the effusion of Roman blood, might be of higher value.

The Caledonians kept possession of the rising grounds, extending their ranks as wide as possible, to present a formidable show of battle. Their first line was ranged on the plain, the rest in a gradual ascent on the acclivity of the hill. The intermediate space between both armies was filled with the charioteers (*b*) and cavalry of the Britons, rushing to and fro in wild career, and traversing the plain with noise and tumult. The enemy being greatly superior in number, there was reason to apprehend that the Romans might be attacked both in front and flank at the same time. To prevent that mischief, Agricola ordered his ranks to form a wider range. Some of the officers saw that the lines were weakened into length, and therefore advised that the legions should be brought forward into the field of action. But the general was not of a temper to be easily dissuaded from his purpose. Flushed with hope, and firm in the hour of danger, he immediately dismounted, and, dismissing his horse, took his stand at the head of the colours.

XXXVI. The battle began, and at first was

maintained at a distance. The Britons neither wanted skill nor resolution. With their long swords, and targets (*a*) of small dimension, they had the address to elude the missive weapons of the Romans, and at the same time to discharge a thick volley of their own. To bring the conflict to a speedy decision, Agricola ordered three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts (*b*) to charge the enemy sword in hand. To this mode of attack those troops had been long accustomed, but to the Britons it was every way disadvantageous. Their small targets afforded no protection, and their unwieldy swords, not sharpened to a point (*c*), could do but little execution in a close engagement. The Batavians rushed to the attack with impetuous fury; they redoubled their blows, and with the bosses of their shields bruised the enemy in the face, and, having overpowered all resistance on the plain, began to force their way up the ascent of the hill in regular order of battle. Incited by their example, the other cohorts advanced with a spirit of emulation, and cut their way with terrible slaughter. Eager in pursuit of victory, they pressed forward with determined fury, leaving behind them numbers wounded, but not slain, and others not so much as hurt.

The Roman cavalry, in the mean time, was forced to give ground (*d*). The Caledonians, in their armed chariots, rushed at full speed into the thick of the battle, where the infantry were engaged. Their first impression struck a general terror, but their career was soon checked by the inequalities of the ground, and the close embodied ranks of the Romans. No-

thing could less resemble an engagement of the cavalry Pent up in narrow places, the barbarians crowded upon each, other, and were driven or dragged along by their own horses. A scene of confusion followed. Chariots without a guide, and horses without a rider, broke from the ranks in wild disorder, and flying every way, as fear and consternation urged, they overwhelmed their own files, and trampled down all who came in their way.

XXXVII. Meanwhile the Britons, who had hitherto kept their post on the hills, looking down with contempt on the scanty numbers of the Roman army, began to quit their station. Descending slowly, they hoped, by wheeling round the field of battle, to attack the victors in the rear. To counteract their design, Agricola ordered four squadrons of horse, which he had kept as a body of reserve, to advance to the charge. The Britons poured down with impetuosity, and retired with equal precipitation. At the same time, the cavalry, by the directions of the general, wheeled round from the wings, and fell with great slaughter on the rear of the enemy, who now perceived that their own stratagem was turned against themselves.

The field presented a dreadful spectacle of carnage and destruction. The Britons fled; the Romans pursued; they wounded, gashed, and mangled the runaways; they seized their prisoners, and, to be ready for others, butchered them on the spot (*a*). Despair and horror appeared in various shapes: in one part of the field the Caledonians, sword in

hand, fled in crowds from a handful of Romans; in other places, without a weapon left, they faced every danger and rushed on certain death. Swords and bucklers, mangled limbs and dead bodies, covered the plain. The field was red with blood. The vanquished Britons had their moments of returning courage, and gave proofs of virtue and of brave despair. They fled to the woods, and rallying their scattered numbers, surrounded such of the Romans as pursued with too much eagerness.

Agricola was every were present. He saw the danger, and, if he had not in the instant taken due precaution, the victorious army would have had reason to repent of too much confidence in success. The light-armed cohorts had orders to invest the woods. Where the thickets were too close for the horse to enter, the men dismounted to explore the passes, and where the woods gave an opening, the rest of the cavalry rushed in, and scoured the country. The Britons, seeing that the pursuit was conducted in compact and regular order, dispersed a second time, not in collected bodies, but in consternation, flying in different ways to remote lurking places, solicitous only for their personal safety, and no longer willing to wait for their fellow soldiers. Night coming on, the Romans, weary of slaughter, desisted from the pursuit. Ten thousand of the Caledonians fell in this engagement: on the part of the Romans, the number of slain did not exceed three hundred and forty, among whom was Aulus Atticus (*b*), the præfect of a cohort. His own youthful ardour, and the spirit of a high mettled

horse, carried him with too much impetuosity into the thickest of the enemy's ranks.

XXXVIII. The Roman army, elate with success, and enriched with plunder, passed the night in exultation. The Britons, on the other hand, wandered about, uncertain which way to turn, helpless and disconsolate. The mingled cries of men and women filled the air with lamentations. Some assisted to carry off the wounded; others called for the assistance of such as escaped unhurt; numbers abandoned their habitations, or, in their frenzy, set them on fire. They fled to obscure retreats, and in the moment of choice, deserted them; they held consultations, and having inflamed their hopes, changed their minds in despair; they beheld the pledges of tender affection, and burst into tears; they viewed them again, and grew fierce with resentment. It is a fact well authenticated, that some laid violent hands upon their wives and children (*a*), determined with savage compassion to end their misery.

The following day displayed to view the nature and importance of the victory. A deep and melancholy silence all around; the hills deserted; houses at a distance involved in smoke and fire, and not a mortal discovered by the scouts; the whole a vast and dreary solitude. Agricola was at length informed by those who were sent out to explore the country, that no trace of the enemy was any where to be seen, and no attempt made in any quarter to muster their forces. Upon this intelligence, as the summer

was far advanced, and to continue the war, or extend its operations in that season of the year, was impracticable, he resolved to close the campaign, and march his army into the country of the Horestians (*b*). That people submitted to the conqueror, and delivered hostages for their fidelity. Orders were now issued to the commander of the fleet to make a coasting voyage round the island (*c*). For this expedition a sufficient equipment was made, and the terror of the Roman name had already gone before them. Agricola, in the mean time, led his army into winter-quarters, proceeding at the head of the cavalry and infantry by slow marches, with intent, that, by seeming to linger in the enemy's country, he might impress with terror a people who had but lately submitted to his arms. The fleet, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at the Trutulensian harbour (*d*), and, sailing thence along the eastern coast, returned with glory to its former station.

XXXIX. The account of these transactions, sent to Rome by Agricola, was plain and simple, without any decoration of language to heighten the narrative. Domitian received it in the true spirit of his character, with a smile on his countenance, and malignity at his heart. The mock-parade of his own German triumph (*a*), in which the slaves, whom he had purchased, walked with dishevelled hair, in the dress and manner of captives taken in war, came fresh into his mind. He felt the reproach and ridicule which that frolic occasioned, and the transition was painful

to a real victory, attended with a total overthrow of the enemy, and the applause of all ranks of men. He now began to fear that the name of a private citizen might overshadow the imperial title. That reflection planted thorns in his breast. The eloquence of the forum was in vain suppressed; in vain the talents of men and every liberal art were put under an absolute prohibition, if a subject was to rob the prince of all military glory. Superior excellence in every other kind might be ended; but renown in arms belonged to the emperor, as a branch of his prerogative.

By these and such like reflections that restless spirit was distracted. He retired to brood in private over his discontent. His solitude was known to be dangerous. To be alone and innocent was no part of his character. Weary of his retreat (*b*) and his own wounded spirit, he at last resolved to nourish resentment in sullen silence, till the tide of popularity, which attended the general, should ebb away, and the affection of the army had time to cool. Agricola was still in Britain, and had the command of the army and the province.

XL. Domitian, in the mean time, caused a decree to pass the senate, by which triumphal ornaments (*a*), the honour of a statue crowned with laurel, and all other marks of distinction, usually substituted in the place of a real triumph, were granted to Agricola. The language of compliment was freely lavished on this occasion. The emperor had also the art to circulate a report, that the province of Syria, at that time vacant by the death of Atilius Rufus,

an officer of consular rank, was intended for Agricola, in order to do him honour by an appointment always given to men of the highest eminence. It is added as a fact, at that time currently believed, that a commission was actually made out, and sent by a favourite freedman, who was much in the emperor's confidence, to be delivered to Agricola, in case the messenger found him still possessed of his authority in Britain. But the freedman, we are told, met him on his passage in the narrow straits (*b*), and without so much as an interview, returned to Rome. For the truth of this anecdote I do not pretend to vouch: it was imagined, perhaps, as a stroke of character, that marked the genius of Domitian. However that may be, Agricola resigned the command, and delivered to his successor (*c*) a quiet and well-ordered government.

Lest his arrival at Rome should draw together too great a concourse, he concealed his approach from his friends, and entered the city privately in the dead of night. With the same secrecy, and in the night also, he went, as commanded, to present himself to the emperor. Domitian received him with a cold salute, and, without uttering a word, left the conqueror of Britain to mix with the servile creatures of the court.

The fame of a great military character is always sure to give umbrage to the lazy and inactive. But to soften prejudices, Agricola resolved to shade the lustre of his name in the mild retreat of humble virtues. With this view, he resigned himself to the calm enjoyments of a domestic life. Plain in his ap-

parel (*d*), easy of access, and never attended by more than one or two friends, he was remarkable for nothing but the simplicity of his appearance: insomuch, that they, who knew no criterion of merit but external show and grandeur, as often as they saw Agricola, were still to seek for the great and illustrious character. His modesty was art, which a few only could understand.

XLI. After his recall from Britain, he was frequently accused before Domitian, and as often acquitted, unheard, and without his knowledge. The ground of those clandestine proceedings was neither a crime against the state, nor even an injury done to any individual. His danger rose from a different source; from the heart of a prince, who felt an inward antipathy to every virtue; from the real glory of the man, and from the praises bestowed upon him by those worst of enemies, the dealers in panegyric (*a*).

The fact was, in the distress of public affairs, which soon after followed, the name of Agricola could not be suffered to remain in obscurity. By the rashness or inactivity of the commanders in chief, the armies of the empire were lost (*b*) in Mæsia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia. Every day brought an account of some new misfortune; forts besieged and taken; garrisons stormed, and whole cohorts with their commanding officers made prisoners of war. Amidst these disasters the struggle was not to secure the banks of a river (*c*), nor to defend the frontier; the very possession of the provinces, and the winter-

quarters of the legions were fiercely disputed. In times like these, when calamity followed calamity, and every successive year was marked by the defeat and slaughter of armies, the voice of the people called aloud for Agricola to be employed in the public service. The vigour of his conduct, his firmness in danger, and his known experience were the general topics, in opposition to the cowardice and insufficiency of other commanders. By remonstrances of the same tendency, it is certain, that the ears of Domitian were often wounded. Amongst his freedmen, those who had the interest of their master at heart, made a fair representation, while others urged the same arguments, not with honest motives, but with an insidious design to exasperate the mind of a tyrant fatally bent on mischief. In this manner Agricola, by his own talents, and the treacherous arts of pernicious men, was every day in danger of rising to the precipice of glory.

XLII. The year was now at hand, in which Agricola was to have by lot the proconsulship (*a*) of Asia or of Africa; but the death of Civica (*b*), who had been lately murdered in his government, gave at once a warning to Agricola, and a precedent to Domitian. At this point of time, the spies of the court thought proper to pay their visits to Agricola. The design of those pretended friends was to discover, whether the government of a province would be acceptable. They contented themselves, in their first approaches, with suggesting to him the value of tranquillity in a private station, and then obligingly

undertook, by their interest at court, to obtain permission for him to decline the office. At length the mask fell off: by adding menaces to their insidious advice, they gained their point, and hurried him away to the presence of the emperor. Domitian knew the part he had to act; with a concerted countenance, and an air of distant pride, he heard Agricola's apology, and complied with his request, conscious of his own treachery, yet receiving thanks for it without a blush (*c*). The proconsular salary (*d*), which had been usually granted in like cases, was withheld upon this occasion; perhaps, in resentment because it was not solicited, or the better reason might be, that the prince might not seem to gain by compromise, what he had a right to command.

To hate whom we have injured (*e*) is a propensity of the human mind: in Domitian it was a rooted principle. Prone by nature to sudden acts of rage, if at any time he had the policy to disguise his anger, it was only smothered (*f*), to break out with fiercer rage. And yet that implacable temper was disarmed by the moderation and wisdom of Agricola, who was not in that class of patriots, who conceive, that by a contumacious spirit they show their zeal for liberty, and think they gain immortal glory, when by rashness they have provoked their fate. By his example the man of heroic fortitude may be informed, that even in the worst of times, and under the most despotic prince, it is possible to be great and good with moderation. He may further learn, that a well managed submission, supported by talents and industry, may rise as high in the public

esteem, as many of those who have courted danger, and, without any real advantage to their country, died the victims of pride and vain ambition.

XLIII. The death of Agricola was felt by his family with the deepest sorrow, by his friends with tender concern, and even by foreigners (*a*), and such as had no knowledge of his person, with universal regret. During his illness, the common people, and that class of men who care little about public events, were constantly at his door, with anxiety making their inquiries. In the forum, and all circular meetings, he was the subject of conversation. When he breathed his last, no man was so hardened as to rejoice at the news. He died lamented, and not soon forgotten. What added to the public affliction, was a report (*b*) that so valuable a life was ended by a dose of poison. No proof of the fact appearing, I leave the story to shift for itself. Thus much is certain; during his illness, instead of formal messages, according to the usual practice of courts, the freedmen most in favour, and the principal physicians of the emperor, were assiduous in their visits. Was this the solicitude of friendship? or, were these men the spies of state?

On the day that closed his life, while he was yet in the agony of death, the quickest intelligence of every symptom was conveyed to Domitian by messengers in waiting for the purpose. That so much industry was exerted to hasten news, which the emperor did not wish to hear, no man believed. As

soon as the event was known, Domitian put on an air of sorrow, and even affected to be touched with real regret. The object of his hatred was now no more, and joy was a passion which he could more easily disguise than the fears that distracted him. The will of the deceased gave him entire satisfaction: he was named joint heir with Agricola's excellent wife, and his most dutiful daughter, and this the tyrant considered as a voluntary mark of the testator's love and esteem. A mind like his, debauched and blinded by continued flattery, could not perceive, that by a good father none but an evil prince is ever called to a share in the succession.

XLIV. Agricola was born on the ides of June, in the third consulship of Caligula; he died on the tenth before the calends of September, during the consulship of Collega and Priscus, in the fifty-sixth year of his age (a). As to his person, about which in future times there may be some curiosity, he was of that make and stature, which may be said to be graceful, not majestic. His countenance had not that commanding air which strikes with awe: a sweetness of expression was the prevailing character. You would have been easily convinced that he was a good man, and you would have been willing to believe him a great one.

Though he was snatched away in the vigour of life, yet if we consider the space his glory filled in the eyes of mankind, he may be said to have died full of years. Possessing all the best enjoyments, that spring from virtue, and from virtue only; adorned with every

dignity, which either the consular rank or triumphal honours could bestow; what further advantage could he derive from fortune? Immoderate riches he never desired, content with an honourable independence. His wife and daughter left in a state of security, his honours blooming round him, his fame unblemished, his relations flourishing, and every tie of friendship preserved to the last, he may be considered as supremely happy, that he did not live to see the tempestuous times that soon after followed. It is indeed true, that to have reached the present auspicious æra, and to have seen Trajan (*b*) in possession of the imperial dignity, would have been the happy consummation of his wishes. To that effect we have often heard him, with a kind of prophetic spirit, express his sentiments; but to counterbalance his untimely end, it is at least some consolation, that he escaped that black and horrible period. in which Domitian no longer broke out in sudden fits and starts of cruelty, but, throwing off all restraint, proceeded in one continued course of unrelenting fury, as if determined to crush the commonwealth at a blow (*c*).

XLV. Agricola did not live to see the senate-house (*a*) invested by an armed force; the members of that august assembly surrounded by the prætorian bands; men of consular rank destroyed in one promiscuous carnage, and a number of illustrious women condemned to exile, or obliged to fly their country. Carus Metius, that detested informer, had as yet gained but a single victory (*b*). The sangui-

nary voice of Messalinus was heard in the Albanian citadel only (*c*); and even Massa Bebius (*d*) was at that time labouring under a prosecution. In a short time after, with our own hands (*e*) we dragged Helvidius to a dungeon; our eyes beheld the distress and melancholy separation of Mauricus and Rusticus (*f*); we were stained with the innocent blood of Senecio (*g*). Even Nero had the grace to turn away his eyes from the horrors of his reign. He commanded deeds of cruelty, but never was a spectator of the scene. Under Domitian, it was our wretched lot to behold the tyrant, and to be seen by him; while he kept a register of our sighs and groans. With that fiery visage (*h*), of a dye so red, that the blush of guilt could never colour his cheek, he marked the pale languid countenance of the unhappy victims, who shuddered at his frown.

With you, Agricola, we may now congratulate: you are blessed, not only, because your life was a career of glory, but because you were released, when it was happiness to die. From those, who attended your last moments, it is well known, that you met your fate with calm serenity; willing, as far as it depended on the last act of your life, that the prince should appear to be innocent. To your daughter and myself you left a load of affliction. We have lost a parent, and, in our distress, it is now an addition to our heartfelt sorrows, that we had it not in our power to watch the bed of sickness, to sooth the languor of declining nature, to gaze upon you with earnest affection, to see the expiring glance, and receive your last embrace. Your dying words

would have been ever dear to us; your commands we should have treasured up, and graved them on our hearts. This sad comfort we have lost, and the wound, for that reason, pierces deeper. Divided from you by a long absence, we had lost you (*i*) four years before. Every tender office, we are well convinced, thou best of parents! was duly performed by a most affectionate wife; but fewer tears bedewed your cold remains, and, in the parting moment, your eyes looked up for other objects, but they looked in vain, and closed for ever.

XLVI. If in another world there is a pious mansion for the blessed (*a*); if, as the wisest men have thought, the soul is not extinguished with the body; may you enjoy a state of eternal felicity! From that station behold your disconsolate family; exalt our minds from fond regret and unavailing grief to the contemplation of your virtues. Those we must not lament; it were impiety to sully them with a tear. To cherish their memory, to embalm them with our praises, and, if our frail condition will permit, to emulate your bright example (*b*), will be the truest mark of our respect, the best tribute your family can offer. Your wife will thus preserve the memory of the best of husbands, and thus your daughter will prove her filial piety. By dwelling constantly on your words and actions, they will have an illustrious character before their eyes, and, not content with the bare image of your mortal frame, they will have, what is more valuable, the form and features of your mind. I do not mean by

this to censure the custom of preserving in brass or marble (*c*) the shape and stature of eminent men; but busts and statues, like their originals, are frail and perishable. The soul is formed of finer elements, and its inward form is not to be expressed by the hand of an artist with unconscious matter: our manners and our morals may in some degree trace the resemblance. All of Agricola, that gained our love, and raised our admiration, still subsists, and will ever subsist, preserved in the minds of men, the register of ages, and the records of fame. Others, who figured on the stage of life, and were the worthies of a former day, will sink, for want of a faithful historian (*d*), into the common lot of oblivion, inglorious and unremembered; whereas Agricola delineated with truth, and fairly consigned to posterity (*e*), will survive himself, and triumph over the injuries of time.

THE END.

A

DIALOGUE

CONCERNING

ORATORY,

OR THE CAUSES OF

CORRUPT ELOQUENCE.

CONTENTS.

I. General introduction, with the reasons for writing an account of the following discourse. II. The persons engaged in the dialogue: at first, Curiatius Maternus, Julius Secundus, and Marcus Aper. III. Secundus endeavours to dissuade Maternus from thinking any more of dramatic composition. IV. Maternus gives his reasons for persisting. V. Aper condemns his resolution, and, in point of utility, real happiness, fame and dignity, contends that the oratorical profession is preferable to the poetical. VIII. He cites the example of Eprius Marcellus and Crispus Vibius, who raised themselves by their eloquence to the highest honours. IX. Poetical fame brings with it no advantage. X. He exhorts Maternus to relinquish the muses, and devote his whole time to eloquence and the business of the bar. XI. Maternus defends his favourite studies: the pleasures arising from poetry are in their nature innocent and sublime; the fame is extensive and immortal. The poet enjoys the most delightful intercourse with his friends, whereas the life of the public orator is a state of warfare and anxiety. XIV. Vipstanius Messala enters the room. He finds his friends engaged in a controversy, and, being an admirer of ancient eloquence, he advises Aper to adopt the model of the ancients in preference to the plan of the modern rhetoricians. XV. Hence a difference of opinion concerning the merit of the ancients and the moderns. Messala, Secundus, and Maternus, profess themselves admirers of the oratory that flourished in the time of the republic. Aper launches out against the ancients, and gives the preference to the

advocates of his own time. He desires to know who are to be accounted ancients. XVIII. Eloquence has various modes, all changing with the conjuncture of the times. But it is the nature of men to praise the past, and censure the present. The period, when Cassius Severus flourished, is stated to be the point of time, at which men cease to be ancients; Cassius with good reason deviated from the ancient manner. XX. Defects of ancient eloquence: the modern style more refined and elegant. XXI. The character of Calvus, Cælius, Cæsar and Brutus, and also of Asinius Pollia, and Messala Corvinus. XXII. The praise and censure of Cicero. XXIII. The true rhetorical art consists in blending the virtues of ancient oratory with the beauties of the modern style. XXIV. Maternus observes that there can be no dispute about the superior reputation of the ancient orators: he therefore calls upon Messala to take that point for granted, and proceed to an inquiry into the causes that produced so great an alteration. XXV. After some observations on the eloquence of Calvus, Asinius Pollio, Cæsar, Cicero, and others, Messala praises Gracchus and Lucius Crassus, but censures Mæcenas, Gallio, and Cassius Severus. XXVII. Maternus reminds Messala of the true point in question; Messala proceeds to assign the causes which occasioned the decay of eloquence, such as the dissipation of the young men, the inattention of their parents, the ignorance of rhetorical professors, and the total neglect of ancient discipline. XXXIV. He proceeds to explain the plan of study, and the institutions, customs, and various arts by which orators were formed in the time of the republic. XXXV. The defects and vices in the new system of Education. *In this part of the dialogue, the sequel of Messala's discourse is lost, with the whole of what was said by Secundus, and the beginning of Maternus: the supplement goes on from this place, distinguished by inverted commas, and the sections marked with numerical figures.* 1. Mes-

sala describes the presumption of the young advocates on their first appearance at the bar; their want of legal knowledge, and the absurd habits which they contracted in the schools of the rhetoricians. 2. Eloquence totally ruined by the preceptors. Messala concludes with desiring Secundus and Maternus to assign the reasons which have occurred to them. 4. Secundus gives his opinion. The change of government produced a new mode of eloquence. The orators under the emperors endeavoured to be ingenious rather than natural. Seneca the first who introduced a false taste, which still prevailed in the reign of Vespasian. 8. Licinius Largus taught the advocates of his time the disgraceful art of hiring applauders by profession. This was the bane of all true oratory, and, for that reason, Maternus was right in renouncing the forum altogether. 10. Maternus acknowledges that he was disgusted by the shameful practices that prevailed at the bar, and therefore resolved to devote the rest of his time to poetry and the muses. 11. An apology for the rhetoricians. The praise of Quintilian. True eloquence died with Cicero. 13. The loss of liberty was the ruin of genuine oratory. Demosthenes flourished under a free government. *The original goes on from this place to the end of the dialogue.* XXXVI. Eloquence flourishes most in times of public tumult. The crimes of turbulent citizens supply the orator with his best materials. XXXVII. In the time of the republic, oratorical talents were necessary qualifications, and without them no man was deemed worthy of being advanced to the magistracy. XXXVIII. The Roman orators were not confined in point of time; they might extend their speeches to what length they thought proper, and could even adjourn. Pompey abridged the liberty of speech, and limited the time. XXXIX. The very dress of the advocate under the emperors was prejudicial to eloquence. XL. True eloquence springs from the vices of men, and never was known to exist under a calm and settled government. XLI. Eloquence changes with the times.

Every age has its own peculiar advantages, and invidious comparisons are unnecessary. XLII. Conclusion of the dialogue.

The time of this dialogue was the sixth of Vespasian's reign.

Year of Rome,	Of Christ,	Consuls.
828	75	Vespasian, 6th time; Titus his son, 4th time.

94
112
145 536

A

DIALOGUE

CONCERNING

ORATORY,

OR THE CAUSES OF

CORRUPT ELOQUENCE.

I. You have often inquired of me, my good friend, Justus Fabius (*a*), how and from what causes it has proceeded, that while ancient times display a race of great and splendid orators, the present age, dispirited, and without any claim to the praise of eloquence, has scarcely retained the name of an orator. By that appellation we now distinguish none but those who flourished in a former period. To the eminent of the present day, we give the title of speakers, pleaders, advocates, patrons, in short, every thing but orators.

The inquiry is in its nature delicate; tending, if we are not able to contend with antiquity, to impeach our genius, and if we are not willing, to arraign our judgment. An answer to so nice a question is more than I should venture to undertake, were I to rely altogether upon myself: but it happens that

I am able to state the sentiments of men, distinguished by their eloquence, such as it is in modern times; having in the early part of my life, been present at their conversation on the very subject now before us. What I have to offer will not be the result of my own thinking: it is the work of memory only; a mere recital of what fell from the most celebrated orators of their time: a set of men, who thought with subtilty, and expressed themselves with energy and precision; each, in his turn, assigning different, but probable causes, at times insisting on the same, and, in the course of the debate, maintaining his own proper character, and the peculiar cast of his mind. What they said upon the occasion, I shall relate, as nearly as may be, in the style and manner of the several speakers, observing always the regular course and order of the controversy: For a controversy it certainly was, where the speakers of the present age did not want an advocate, who supported their cause with zeal, and, after treating antiquity with sufficient freedom, and even derision, assigned the palm of eloquence to the practisers of modern times.

II. Curiatius Maternus (*a*) gave a public reading of his tragedy of Cato. On the following day a report prevailed, that the piece had given umbrage to the men in power. The author, it was said, had laboured to display his favourite character in the brightest colours; anxious for the fame of his hero, but regardless of himself. This soon became the topic of public conversation. Maternus received a

visit from Marcus Aper (*b*) and Julius Secundus (*c*), both men of genius, and the first ornaments of the forum. I was at that time, a constant attendant on those eminent men. I heard them, not only in their scenes of public business, but, feeling an inclination to the same studies, I followed them with all the ardour of youthful emulation. I was admitted to their private parties; I heard their debates, and the amusement of their social horus: I treasured up their wit, and their sentiments on the various topics which they discussed in conversation. Respected as they were, it must, however, be acknowledged, that they did not escape the malignity of criticism. It was objected to Secundus, that he had no command of words, no flow of language; and to Aper, that he was indebted for his fame, not to art or literature, but to the natural powers of a vigorous understanding. The truth is, the style of the former was remarkable for its purity; concise, yet free and copious; and the latter was sufficiently versed in all branches of general erudition. It might be said of him, that he despised literature, not that he wanted it. He thought, perhaps, that by scorning the aid of letters, and by drawing altogether from his own fund, his fame would stand on a more solid foundation.

III. We went together to pay our visit to Maternus. Upon entering his study, we found him with the tragedy, which he had read on the preceding day, lying before him. Secundus began: And are you then so little affected by the censure of malig-

nant critics, as to persist in cherishing a tragedy which has given so much offence? Perhaps you are revising the piece, and, after retrenching certain passages, intend to send your Cato into the world, I will not say improved, but certainly less obnoxious. There lies the poem, said Maternus; you may, if you think proper, peruse it with all its imperfections on its head. If Cato has omitted any thing, Thyestes (*a*), at my next reading, shall atone for all deficiencies. I have formed the fable of a tragedy on that subject: the plan is warm in my imagination, and that I may give my whole time to it, I now am eager to dispatch an edition of Cato. Marcus Aper interposed: And are you, indeed, so enamoured of your dramatic muse, as to renounce your oratorical character, and the honours of your profession, in order to sacrifice your time, I think it was lately to Medea, and now to Thyestes? Your friends in the mean time, expect your patronage; the colonies (*b*) invoke your aid, and the municipal cities invite you to the bar. And surely the weight of so many causes may be deemed sufficient, without this new solicitude imposed upon you by Domitius (*c*) or Cato. And must you thus waste all your time, amusing yourself for ever with scenes of fictitious distress, and still labouring to add to the fables of Greece the incidents and characters of the Roman story?

IV. The sharpness of that reproof, replied Maternus, would, perhaps, have disconcerted me, if, by frequent repetition, it had not lost its sting. To dif-

fer on this subject is grown familiar to us both. Poetry, it seems, is to expect no quarter; you wage an incessant war against the followers of that pleasing art; and I, who am charged with deserting my clients, have yet every day the cause of poetry to defend. But we have now a fair opportunity, and I embrace it with pleasure, since we have a person present, of ability to decide between us; a judge, who will either lay me under an injunction to write no more verses, or, as I rather hope, encourage me, by his authority, to renounce for ever the dry employment of forensic causes (in which I have had my share of drudgery), that I may, for the future, be at leisure to cultivate the sublime and sacred eloquence of the tragic muse.

V. Secundus desired to be heard: I am aware, he said, that Aper may refuse me as an umpire. Before he states his objections, let me follow the example of all fair and upright judges, who, in particular cases, when they feel a partiality for one of the contending parties, desire to be excused from hearing the cause. The friendship and habitual intercourse, which I have ever cultivated with Saleius Bassus (*a*), that excellent man, and no less excellent poet, are well known: and let me add, if poetry is to be arraigned. I know no client that can offer such handsome bribes.

My business, repiled Aper, is not with Saleius Bassus: let him, and all of his description, who, without talents for the bar, devote their time to the muses, pursue their favourite amusement without in-

terruption. But Maternus must not think to escape in the crowd. I single him out from the rest, and since we are now before a competent judge, I call upon him to answer how it happens, that a man of his talents, formed by nature to reach the heights of manly eloquence, can think of renouncing a profession, which not only serves to multiply friendships, but to support them with reputation; a profession, which enables us to conciliate the esteem of foreign nations, and (if we regard our own interest) lays open the road to the first honours of the state; a profession, which, besides the celebrity that it gives within the walls of Rome, spreads an illustrious name throughout the wide extent of the empire.

If it be wisdom to make the ornament and happiness of life the end and aim of our actions, what can be more advisable than to embrace an art, by which we are enabled to protect our friends; to defend the cause of strangers; and succour the distressed? Nor is this all: the eminent orator is a terror to his enemies: envy and malice tremble, while they hate him. Secure in his own strength, he knows how to ward off every danger. His own genius is his protection; a perpetual guard, that watches him; an invincible power, that shields him from his enemies.

In the calm seasons of life, the true use of oratory consists in the assistance which it affords to our fellow citizens. We then behold the triumph of eloquence. Have we reason to be alarmed for ourselves? The sword and breast-plate are not a better

defence in the heat of battle. It is at once a buckler to cover yourself (*b*), and a weapon to brandish against your enemy. Armed with this, you may appear with courage before the tribunals of justice, in the senate, and even in the presence of the prince. We lately saw (*c*) Eprius Marcellus arraigned before the fathers: in that moment, when the minds of the whole assembly were inflamed against him, what had he to oppose to the vehemence of his enemies, but that nervous eloquence which he possessed in so eminent a degree? Collected in himself, and looking terror to his enemies, he was more than a match for Helvidius Priscus; a man, no doubt, of consummate wisdom, but without that flow of eloquence, which springs from practice, and that skill in argument, which is necessary to manage a public debate. Such is the advantage of oratory: to enlarge upon it were superfluous. My friend Maternus will not dispute the point.

VI. I proceed to the pleasure arising from the exercise of eloquence; a pleasure which does not consist in the mere sensation of the moment, but is felt through life, repeated every day, and almost every hour. For let me ask, to a man of an ingenuous and liberal mind, who knows the relish of elegant enjoyments, what can yield such true delight, as a concourse of the most respectable characters crowding to his levee? How must it enhance his pleasure, when he reflects, that the visit is not paid to him, because he is rich, and wants an heir (*a*), or is in possession of a public office, but purely

as a compliment to superior talents, a mark of respect to a great and accomplished orator! The rich, who have no issue, and the men in high rank and power are his followers. Though he is still young, and probably destitute of fortune, all concur in paying their court to solicit his patronage for themselves, or to recommend their friends to his protection. In the most splendid fortune, in all the dignity and pride of power, is there any thing that can equal the heartfelt satisfaction of the able advocate, when he sees the most illustrious citizens, men respected for their years, and flourishing in the opinion of the public, yet paying their court to a rising genius, and, in the midst of wealth and grandeur, fairly owning, that they still want something superior to all their possessions?

What shall be said of the attendants, that follow the young orator from the bar, and watch his motions to his own house? With what importance does he appear to the multitude! in the courts of judicature, with what veneration! When he rises to speak, the audience is hushed in mute attention; every eye is fixed on him alone; the crowd presses round him; he is master of their passions; they are swayed, impelled, directed, as he thinks proper. These are the fruits of eloquence, well known to all, and palpable to every common observer.

There are other pleasures more refined and secret, felt only by the initiated. When the orator, upon some great occasion, comes with a well-digested speech, conscious of his matter, and animated by his subject, his breast expands, and heaves with

emotions unfelt before. In his joy there is a dignity suited to the weight and energy of the composition which he has prepared. Does he rise to hazard himself (*b*) in a sudden debate? He is alarmed for himself, but in that very alarm there is a mingle of pleasure, which predominates, till distress itself becomes delightful. The mind exults in the prompt exertion of its powers, and even glories in its rashness. The productions of genius, and those of the field have this resemblance: many things are sown, and brought to maturity with toil and care: yet that, which grows from the wild vigour of nature, has the most grateful flavour.

VII. As to myself, if I may allude to my own feelings, the day on which I put on the manly gown (*a*), and even the days that followed, when, as a new man at Rome, born in a city that did not favour my pretensions (*b*), I rose in succession to the offices of quæstor, tribune, and prætor; those days, I say, did not awaken in my breast such exalted rapture, as when, in the course of my profession, I was called forth, with such talents as have fallen to my share, to defend the accused; to argue a question of law before the centumviri *c*), or, in the presence of the prince, to plead for his freedmen and the procurators appointed by himself. Upon those occasions I towered above all places of profit, and all preferment; I looked down on the dignities of tribune, prætor, and consul: I felt within myself, what neither the favour of the great, nor the wills and codicils (*d*) of the rich can give, a vigour of mind, an

inward energy, that springs from no external cause, but is altogether your own.

Look through the circle of the fine arts, survey the whole compass of the sciences, and tell me in what branch can the professors acquire a name to vie with the celebrity of a great and powerful orator. His fame does not depend on the opinion of thinking men, who attend to business and watch the administration of affairs; he is applauded by the youth of Rome, at least by such of them as are of a well turned disposition, and hope to rise by honourable means. The eminent orator is the model which every parent recommends to his children. Even the common people (*e*) stand at gaze, as he passes by; they pronounce his name with pleasure, and point at him as the object of their admiration. The provinces resound with his praise. The strangers, who arrive from all parts, have heard of his genius; they wish to behold the man, and their curiosity is never at rest, till they have seen his person, and perused his countenance.

VIII. I have already mentioned Eprius Marcellus and Crispus Vibius (*a*). I cite living examples, in preference to the names of a former day. Those two illustrious persons, I will be bold to say, are not less known in the remotest parts of the empire, than they are at Capua, or Vercellæ (*b*), where, we are told, they both were born. And to what is their extensive fame to be attributed? Not surely to their immoderate riches. Three hundred thousand sesterces can not give the fame of genius. Their elo-

quence may be said to have built up their fortunes; and, indeed, such is the power, I might say the inspiration, of eloquence, that in every age we have examples of men, who by their talents raised themselves to the summit of their ambition.

But I wave all former instances. The two, whom I have mentioned, are not recorded in history, nor are we to glean an imperfect knowledge of them from tradition; they are every day before our eyes. They have risen from low beginnings; but the more abject their origin, and the more sordid the poverty, in which they set out, their success rises in proportion, and affords a striking proof of what I have advanced; since it is apparent, that, without birth or fortune, neither of them recommended by his moral character, and one of them deformed in his person, they have, notwithstanding all disadvantages, made themselves for a series of years, the first men in the state. They began their career in the forum, and, as long as they chose to pursue that road of ambition, they flourished in the highest reputation; they are now at the head of the commonwealth, the ministers, who direct and govern, and so high in favour with the prince, that the respect, with which he receives them, is little short of veneration.

The truth is, Vespasian (*c*), now in the vale of years, but always open to the voice of truth, clearly sees that the rest of his favourites derive all their lustre from the favours, which his munificence has bestowed: but with Marcellus and Crispus the case is different: they carry into the cabinet, what no prince can give, and no subject can receive. Com-

pared with the advantages which those men possess, what are family-pictures, statues, busts, and titles of honour? They are things of a perishable nature, yet not without their value. Marcellus and Vibius know how to estimate them, as they do wealth and honours; and wealth and honours are advantages against which you will easily find men that declaim, but none that in their hearts despise them. Hence it is, that in the houses of all who have distinguished themselves in the career of eloquence, we see titles, statues, and splendid ornaments, the reward of talents, and, at all times, the decorations of the great and powerful orator.

IX. But to come to the point, from which we started: poetry, to which my friend Maternus wishes to dedicate all his time, has none of these advantages. It confers no dignity, nor does it serve any useful purpose. It is attended with some pleasure, but it is the pleasure of a moment, springing from vain applause, and bringing with it no solid advantage. What I have said, and am going to add, may probably, my good friend Maternus, be unwelcome to your ear; and yet I must take the liberty to ask you, if Agamemnon (*a*) or Jason speaks in your piece with dignity of language. what useful consequence follows from it? What client has been defended? Who confesses an obligation? In that whole audience, who returns to his own house with a grateful heart? Our friend Saleius Bassus (*b*) is, beyond all question, a poet of eminence, or, to use a warmer expression, he has the god within him: but who attends his levee? who

seeks his patronage, or follows in his train? Should he himself, or his intimate friend, or his near relation, happen to be involved in a troublesome litigation, what course do you imagine he would take? He would, most probably, apply to his friend, Secundus; or to you, Maternus; not because you are a poet; nor yet to obtain a copy of verses from you; of those he has a sufficient stock at home, elegant, it must be owned, and exquisite in the kind. But after all his labour and waste of genius, what is his reward?

When, in the course of a year, after toiling day and night, he has brought a single poem to perfection, he is obliged to solicit his friends, and exert his interest, in order to bring together an audience (*c*), so obliging as to hear a recital of the piece. Nor can this be done without expense. A room must be hired, a stage or pulpit must be erected; benches must be arranged, and hand-bills distributed throughout the city. What if the reading succeeds to the height of his wishes? Pass but a day or two, and the whole harvest of praise and admiration fades away, like a flower that withers in its bloom, and never ripens into fruit. By the event, however flattering, he gains no friend; he obtains no patronage, nor does a single person go away impressed with the idea of an obligation conferred upon him. The poet has been heard with applause; he has been received with acclamations, and he has enjoyed a short lived transport.

Bassus, it is true, has lately received from Vespasian a present of fifty thousand sesterces. Upon that occasion, we all admired the generosity of the

prince. To deserve so distinguished a proof of the sovereign's esteem is, no doubt, highly honourable; but is it not still more honourable, if your circumstances require it, to serve yourself by your talents; to cultivate your genius, for your own advantage? and to owe every thing to your own industry, indebted to the bounty of no man whatever? It must not be forgotten, that the poet, who would produce any thing truly excellent in the kind, must bid farewell to the conversation of his friends; he must renounce, not only the pleasures of Rome, but also the duties of social life; he must retire from the world; as the poets says, "to groves and grottos "every muse's son." In other words, he must condemn himself to a sequestered life in the gloom of solitude.

X. The love of fame, it seems, is the passion that inspires the poet's genius: but even in this respect, is he so amply paid as to rival in any degree the professors of the persuasive arts? As to the indifferent poet, men leave him to his own (*a*) mediocrity: the real genius moves in a narrow circle. Let there be a reading of a poem by the ablest master of his art; will the fame of his performance reach all quarters, I will not say of the empire, but of Rome only? Among the strangers, who arrive from Spain, from Asia, or from Gaul, who inquires (*b*) after Saleius Bassus? Should it happen that there is one, who thinks of him, his curiosity is soon satisfied: he passes on, content with a transient view, as if he had seen a picture or a statue.

In what I have advanced, let me not be misunderstood: I do not mean to deter such as are not blessed with the gift of oratory, from the practice of their favourite art, if it serves to fill up their time, and gain a degree of reputation. I am an admirer of eloquence (*c*); I hold it venerable, and even sacred, in all its shapes, and every mode of composition. The pathetic of tragedy, of which you, Maternus, are so great a master; the majesty of the epic, the gaiety of the lyric muse; the wanton elegy, the keen iambic, and the pointed epigram; all have their charms; and eloquence, whatever may be the subject which she chooses to adorn, is with me the sublimest faculty, the queen of all the arts and sciences. But this, Maternus, is no apology for you, whose conduct is so extraordinary, that, though formed by nature to reach the summit of perfection (*d*), you choose to wander into devious paths, and rest contented with an humble station in the vale beneath.

Were you a native of Greece, where to exhibit in the public games (*e*) is an honourable employment; and if the gods had bestowed upon you the force and sinew of the athletic Nicostratus (*f*); do you imagine that I could look tamely on, and see that amazing vigour waste itself away in nothing better than the frivolous art of darting the javelin, or throwing the coit? To drop the allusion, I summon you from the theatre and public recitals to the business of the forum, to the tribunals of justice, to scenes of real contention, to a conflict worthy of your abilities. You can not decline the challenge, for you are left without an excuse. You can not say, with a

number of others, that the profession of poetry is safer than that of the public orator, since you have ventured in a tragedy written with spirit, to display the ardour of a bold and towering genius.

And for whom have you provoked so many enemies? Not for a friend: that would have had alleviating circumstances. You undertook the cause of Cato, and for him committed yourself. You can not plead, by way of apology, the duty of an advocate, or the sudden effusion of sentiment in the heat and hurry of an unpremeditated speech. Your plan was settled; a great historical personage was your hero, and you chose him, because what falls from so distinguished a character. falls from a height that gives it additional weight. I am aware of your answer: you will say, it was that very circumstance that ensured the success of your piece; the sentiments were received with sympathetic rapture: the room echoed with applause, and hence your fame throughout the city of Rome. Then let us hear no more of your love of quiet and a state of security: you have voluntarily courted danger. For myself, I am content with controversies of a private nature, and the incidents of the present day. If hurried beyond the bounds of prudence, I should happen, on any occasion, to grate the ears of men in power, the zeal of an advocate. in the service of his client, will excuse the honest freedom of speech, and, perhaps, be deemed a proof of integrity.

XI. Aper went through his argument, according to his custom, with warmth and vehemence. He de-

livered the whole with a peremptory tone and an eager eye. As soon as he finished, I am prepared, said Maternus smiling, to exhibit a charge against the professors of oratory, which may, perhaps, counterbalance the praise so lavishly bestowed upon them by my friend. In the course of what he said, I was not surprised to see him going out of his way, to lay poor poetry prostrate at his feet. He has, indeed, shown some kindness to such as are not blessed with oratorical talents. He has passed an act of indulgence in their favour, and they, it seems, are allowed to pursue their favourite studies. For my part, I will not say, that I think myself wholly unqualified for the eloquence of the bar. It may be true, that I have some kind of talent for that profession; but the tragic muse affords superior pleasure. My first attempt was in the reign of Nero, in opposition to the extravagant claims of the prince (*a*) and in defiance of the domineering spirit of Vatinius (*b*), that pernicious favourite, by whose coarse buffoonery the muses were every day disgraced, I might say most impiously profaned. The portion of fame, whatever it be, that I have acquired since that time, is to be attributed, not to the speeches which I made in the forum, but to the power of dramatic composition. I have, therefore, resolved to take my leave of the bar forever. The homage of visiters, the train of attendants, and the multitude of clients, which glitter so much in the eyes of my friend, have no attraction for me. I regard them as I do pictures, and busts, and statues of brass; things, which indeed are in my family, but they came unlooked for, without my

stir, or so much as a wish on my part. In my humble station, I find that innocence is a better shield than oratory. For the last I shall have no occasion, unless I find it necessary, on some future occasion, to exert myself in the just defence of an injured friend.

XII. But woods, and groves (*a*), and solitary places have not escaped the satirical vein of my friend. To me they afford sensations of a pure delight. It is there I enjoy the pleasures of a poetic imagination: and among those pleasures it is not the least, that they are pursued far from the noise and bustle of the world, without a client to besiege my doors, and not a criminal to distress me with the tears of affliction. Free from those distractions, the poet retires to scenes of solitude, where peace and innocence reside. In those haunts of contemplation, he has his pleasing visions. He treads on consecrated ground. It was there that eloquence first grew up, and there she reared her temple. In those retreats she first adorned herself with those graces, which have made mankind enamoured of her charms; and there she filled the hearts of the wise and good with joy and inspiration. Oracles first spoke in woods and sacred groves. As to the species of oratory, which practises for lucre, or with views of ambition: that sanguinary eloquence (*b*) now so much in vogue; it is of modern growth, the offspring of corrupt manners, and degenerate times; or rather, as my friend Aper expressed it, it is a WEAPON in the hands of ill-designing men.

The early and more happy period of the world, or as we poets call it, the golden age, was the æra of true eloquence. Crimes and orators were then unknown. Poetry spoke in harmonious numbers, not to varnish evil deeds, but to praise the virtuous, and celebrate the friends of human kind. This was the poet's office. The inspired train enjoyed the highest honours; they held commerce with the gods; they partook of the ambrosial feast; they were at once the messengers and interpreters of the supreme command. They ranked on earth with legislators, heroes and demigods. In that bright assembly we find no orator, no pleader of causes. We read of Orpheus (*c*), of Linus, and if we choose to mount still higher, we can add the name of Apollo himself. This may seem a flight of fancy. Aper will treat it as mere romance, and fabulous history: but he will not deny, that the veneration paid to Homer, with the consent of posterity, is at least equal to the honours obtained by Demosthenes. He must likewise admit, that the fame of Sophocles and Euripides is not confined within narrower limits than that of Lysias (*d*) or Hyperides. To come home to our own country, there are at this day, more who dispute the excellence of Cicero than of Virgil. Among the orations of Asinius or Messala (*e*), is there one that can vie with the Medea of Ovid, or the Thyestes of Varius?

XIII. If we now consider the happy condition of the true poet, and that easy commerce in which he passes his time, need we fear to compare his situation with that of the boasted orator, who leads a life

of anxiety, oppressed by business, and overwhelmed with care? But it is said, his contention, his toil and danger are steps to the consulship. How much more eligible was the soft retreat in which Virgil (*a*) passed his days, loved by the prince, and honoured by the people? To prove this, the letters of Augustus are still extant; and the people, we know, hearing in the theatre some verses of that divine poet (*b*), when he himself was present, rose in a body, and paid him every mark of homage, with a degree of veneration nothing short of what they usually offered to the emperor.

Even in our own times, will any man say, that Secundus Pomponius (*c*), in point of dignity or extent of fame, is inferior to Domitius Afer (*d*)? But Vibius and Marcellus have been cited as bright examples: and yet, in their elevation what is there to be coveted? Is it to be deemed an advantage to those ministers, that they are feared by numbers, and live in fear themselves? They are courted for their favours, and the men, who obtained their suit, retire with ingratitude, pleased with their success, yet hating to be obliged. Can we suppose that the man is happy, who by his artifices has wriggled himself into favour, and yet is never thought by his master sufficiently pliant, nor by the people sufficiently free? And after all, what is the amount of all his boasted power? The emperor's freedmen have enjoyed the same. But as Virgil sweetly sings, me let the sacred muses lead to their soft retreats, their living fountains, and melodious groves, where I may dwell remote from care, master of myself, and un-

der no necessity of doing every day what my heart condemns. Let me no more be seen at the wrangling bar, a pale and anxious candidate for precarious fame; and let neither the tumult of visiters crowding to my levee, nor the eager haste of officious freedmen, disturb my morning rest. Let me live free from solicitude, a stranger to the art of promising legacies (*e*), in order to buy the friendship of the great; and when nature shall give the signal to retire, may I possess no more than may be safely bequeathed to such friends as I shall think proper. At my funeral let no token of sorrow be seen, no pompous mockery of wo. Crown (*f*) me with chaplets; strew flowers on my grave, and let my friends erect no vain memorial, to tell where my remains are lodged.

XIV. Maternus finished with an air of enthusiasm, that seemed to lift him above himself. In that moment (*a*), Vipstanius Messala entered the room. From the attention that appeared in every countenance, he concluded that some important business was the subject of debate. I am afraid, said he, that I break in upon you at an unseasonable time? You have some secret to discuss, or, perhaps, a consultation upon your hands. Far from it; replied Secundus; I wish you had come sooner. You would have had the pleasure of hearing an eloquent discourse from our friend Aper, who has been endeavouring to persuade Maternus to dedicate all his time to the business of the bar, and to give the whole man to his profession. The answer

of Maternus would have entertained you: he has been defending his art, and but this moment closed an animated speech, that held more of the poetical than the oratorical character.

I should have been happy, replied Messala, to have heard both my friends. It is, however, some compensation for the loss, that I find men of their talents, instead of giving all their time to the little subtleties and knotty points of the forum, extending their views to liberal science, and those questions of taste, which enlarge the mind, and furnish it with ideas drawn from the treasures of polite erudition. Inquiries of this kind afford improvement not only to those who enter into the discussion, but to all who have the happiness of being present at the debate. It is in consequence of this refined and elegant way of thinking, that you, Secundus, have gained so much applause, by the life of Julius Asiaticus (*b*), with which you have lately obliged the world. From that specimen we are taught to expect other productions of equal beauty from the same hand. In like manner, I see with pleasure, that our friend Aper loves to enliven his imagination with topics of controversy, and still lays out his leisure in questions of the schools (*c*), not indeed, in imitation of the ancient orators, but in the true taste of our modern rhetoricians.

XV. I am not surprised, returned Aper, at that stroke of raillery. It is not enough for Messala, that the oratory of ancient times engrosses all his admiration; he must have his fling at the moderns. Our

talents and our studies are sure to feel the sallies of his pleasantry (*a*). I have often heard you, my friend Messala, in the same humour. According to you, the present age has not a single orator to boast of, though your own eloquence, and that of your brother, are sufficient to refute the charge. But you assert roundly, and maintain your proposition with an air of confidence. You know how high you stand, and while in your general censure of the age you include yourself, the smallest tincture of malignity can not be supposed to mingle in a decision, which denies to your own genius, what by common consent is allowed to be your undoubted right.

I have as yet, replied Messala, seen no reason to make me retract my opinion; nor do I believe, that my two friends here, or even you yourself (though you sometimes affect a different tone), can seriously maintain the opposite doctrine. The decline of eloquence is too apparent. The causes, which have contributed to it, merit a serious inquiry. I shall be obliged to you, my friends, for a fair solution of the question. I have often reflected upon the subject, but what seems to others a full answer, with me serves only to increase the difficulty. What has happened at Rome, I perceive to have been the case in Greece. The modern orators of that country, such as the priest (*b*) Nicetes, and others, who, like him, stun the schools of Mytelene and Ephesus (*c*), are fallen to a greater distance from Æschynes and Demosthenes, than Afer and Africanus (*d*), or, you, my friends, from Tully or Asinius Pollio.

XVI. You have started an important question, said Secundus, and who so able to discuss it as yourself? Your talents are equal to the difficulty; your acquisitions in literature are known to be extensive, and you have considered the subject. I have no objection, replied Messala: my ideas are at your service, upon condition that, as I go on, you will assist me with the lights of your understanding. For two of us I can venture to answer, said Maternus: whatever you omit, or rather, what you leave for us to glean after you, we shall be ready to add to your observations. As to our friend Aper, you have told us, that he is apt to differ from you upon this point, and even now I see him preparing to give battle. He will not tamely bear to see us joined in a league in favour of antiquity.

Certainly not, replied Aper, nor shall the present age, unheard and undefended, be degraded by a conspiracy. But before you sound to arms, I wish to know, who are to be reckoned among the ancients? At what point of time (*a*) do you fix your favourite æra? When you talk to me of antiquity, I carry my view to the first ages of the world, and see before me Ulysses and Nestor, who flourished little less than (*b*) thirteen hundred years ago. Your retrospect, it seems, goes no farther back than to Demosthenes and Hyperides; men, who lived in the times of Philip and Alexander, and indeed survived them both. The interval, between Demosthenes and the present age, is little more than (*c*) four hundred years; a space of time, which, with a view to the duration of human life, may be called long; but as

a portion of that immense tract of time which includes the different ages of the world, it shrinks into nothing, and seems to be but yesterday. For if it be true, as Cicero says in his treatise called Hortensius, that the great and genuine year is that period in which the heavenly bodies revolve to the station, from which their course began; and if this grand rotation of the whole planetary system requires no less than twelve thousand nine hundred and fifty-four years (*d*) of our computation, it follows that Demosthenes, your boasted ancient, becomes a modern and even our contemporary; nay, that he lived in the same year with ourselves; I had almost said, in the same month (*e*).

XVII. But I am in haste to pass to our Roman orators. Menenius Agrippa (*a*) may fairly be deemed an ancient. I take it, however, that he is not the person, whom you mean to oppose to the professors of modern eloquence. The æra, which you have in view, is that of (*b*) Cicero and Cæsar, of Cælius (*c*) and Calvus; of Brutus (*d*), Asinius and Messala. Those are the men, whom you place in the front of your line; but for what reason they are to be classed with the ancients, and not, as I think they ought to be, with the moderns, I am still to learn. To begin with Cicero; he, according to the account of Tiro, his freedman, was put to death on the seventh of the ides of December, during the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa (*e*), who, we know, were both cut off in the course of the year, and left their office vacant for Augustus and

Quintus Pedius. Count from that time six-and-fifty years, to complete the reign of Augustus; three-and-twenty for that of Tiberius, four for Caligula, eight-and-twenty for Claudius and Nero, one for Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and finally six from the accession of Vespasian to the present year of our felicity, we shall have from the death of Cicero a period of about (*f*) one hundred and twenty years, which may be considered as the term allotted to the life of man. I myself remember to have seen in Britain a soldier far advanced in years, who averred that he carried arms in that very battle (*g*), in which his countrymen fought to drive Julius Cæsar back from their coast. If this veteran, who served in the defence of his country against Cæsar's invasion, had been brought a prisoner to Rome; or, if his own inclination, or any accident in the course of things, had conducted him thither, he might have heard, not only Cæsar and Cicero, but even ourselves in some of our public speeches.

In the late public largess (*h*) you will acknowledge that you saw several old men, who assured us that they had received more than once, the like distribution from Augustus himself. If that be so, might not those persons have heard Corvinus (*i*) and Asinius? Corvinus, we all know, lived through half the reign of Augustus: and Asinius almost to the end. How then are we to ascertain the just boundaries of a century? They are not to be varied at pleasure, so as to place some orators in a remote, and others in a recent period, while people are still living, who

heard them all, and may therefore, with good reason rank them as contemporaries.

XVIII. From what I have said, I assume it as a clear position, that the glory, whatever it be, that accrued to the age in which those orators lived, is not confined to that particular period, but reaches down to the present time, and may more properly be said to belong to us, than to Servius Galba (*a*), or to Carbo (*b*), and others of the same or more ancient date. Of that whole race of orators, I may freely say, that their manner can not now be relished. Their language is coarse, and their composition rough, uncouth, and harsh; and yet your Calvus (*c*), your Cælius, and even your favourite Cicero, condescended to follow that inelegant style. It were to be wished that they had not thought such models worthy of imitation. I mean to speak my mind with freedom; but before I proceed, it will be necessary to make a preliminary observation, and it is this: eloquence has no settled form: at different times it puts on a new garb, and changes with the manners and the taste of the age. Thus we find, that Gracchus (*d*), compared with the elder Cato (*e*), is full and copious; but, in his turn, yields to Crassus (*f*), an orator more polished, more correct, and florid. Cicero rises superior to both; more animated, more harmonious and sublime. He is followed by Corvinus (*g*), who has all the softer graces; a sweet flexibility in his style, and a curious felicity in the choice of his words. Which was the greatest orator, is not the question.

The use I make of these examples, is to prove that eloquence does not always wear the same dress, but even among your celebrated ancients, has its different modes of persuasion. And be it remembered, that what differs is not always the worst: Yet such is the malignity of the human mind, that what has the sanction of antiquity, is always admired; what is present, is sure to be condemned. Can we doubt that there have been critics, who were better pleased with Appius Cæcus (*h*) than with Cato? Cicero had his adversaries (*i*): it was objected to him, that his style was redundant, turgid, never compressed, void of precision, and destitute of Attic elegance. We all have read the letters of Calvus and Brutus to your famous orator. In the course of that correspondence we plainly see, what was Cicero's opinion of those eminent men. The former (*k*) appeared to him cold and languid; the latter (*l*), disjointed, loose, and negligent. On the other hand, we know what they thought in return: Calvus did not hesitate to say, that Cicero was diffuse, luxuriant to a fault, and florid without vigour. Brutus, in express terms, says, he was weakened into length, and wanted sinew. If you ask my opinion, each of them had reason on his side. I shall hereafter examine them separately. My business, at present, is not in the detail, I speak of them in general terms.

XIX. The æra of ancient oratory is, I think, extended by its admirers no farther back than the time of Cassius Severus (*a*). He, they tell us, was the first, who dared to deviate from the plain and

simple style of his predecessors. I admit the fact. He departed from the established forms, not through want of genius, or of learning, but guided by his own good sense and superior judgment. He saw that the public ear was formed to a new manner; and eloquence he knew, was to find new approaches to the heart. In the early periods of the commonwealth, a rough unpolished people might well be satisfied with the tedious length of unskilful speeches, at a time, when to make an harangue, that took up the whole day, was the orator's highest praise. The prolix exordium, wasting itself in feeble preparation; the circumstantial narration, the ostentatious division of the argument under different heads, and the thousand proofs and logical distinctions, with whatever else is contained in the dry precepts of Hermagoras (*b*) and Apollodorus, were in that rude period received with universal applause. To finish the picture, if your ancient orator could glean a little from the common places of philosophy, and interweave a few shreds and patches with the thread of his discourse, he was extolled to the very skies. Nor can this be matter of wonder: the maxims of the schools had not been divulged; they came with an air of novelty. Even among the orators themselves, there were but few, who had any tincture of philosophy. Nor had they learned the rules of art from the teachers of eloquence.

In the present age, the tenets of philosophy and the precepts of rhetoric are no longer a secret. The lowest of our popular assemblies are now, I will not say fully instructed, but certainly acquainted with

the elements of literature. The orator, by consequence, finds himself obliged to seek new avenues to the heart, and new graces to embellish his discourse, that he may not offend fastidious ears, especially before a tribunal, where the judge is no longer bound by precedent, but determines according to his will and pleasure; not, as formerly, observing the measure of time allowed to the advocate, but taking upon himself to prescribe the limits. Nor is this all: the judge, at present, will not condescend to wait till the orator, in his own way, opens his case; but, of his own authority, reminds him of the point in question, and if he wanders, calls him back from his digression, not without a hint, that the court wishes to dispatch.

XX. Who, at this time, would bear to hear an advocate introducing himself with a tedious preface about the infirmities of his constitution? Yet that is the threadbare exordium of Corvinus. We have five books against Verres (*a*). Who can endure that vast redundance? Who can listen to those endless arguments upon points of form, and cavilling exceptions (*b*), which we find in the orations of the same celebrated advocate for Marcus Tullius (*c*) and Aulus Cæcina? Our modern judges are able to anticipate the argument. Their quickness goes before the speaker. If not struck with the vivacity of his manner, the elegance of his sentiments, and the glowing colours of his descriptions, they soon grow weary of the flat insipid discourse. Even in the lowest class of life, there is now a relish for rich and splen-

did ornament. Their taste requires the gay, the florid, and the brilliant. The unpolished style of antiquity would now succeed as ill at the bar, as the modern actor, who should attempt to copy the deportment of Roscius (*d*) or Ambivius Turpio. Even the young men who are preparing for the career of eloquence, and, for that purpose, attend the forum and the tribunals of justice, have now a nice discriminating taste. They expect to have their imaginations pleased. They wish to carry home some bright illustration, some splendid passage, that deserves to be remembered. What has struck their fancy they communicate to each other; and in their letters, the glittering thought, given with sententious brevity; the poetical allusion, that enlivened the discourse, and the dazzling imagery, are sure to be transmitted to their respective colonies and provinces. The ornaments of poetic diction are now required, not, indeed, copied from the rude obsolete style of Accius (*e*) and Pacuvius, but embellished with the graces of Horace, Virgil, and (*f*) Lucan. The public judgment has raised a demand for harmonious periods, and, in compliance with the taste of the age, our orators grow every day more polished and adorned. Let it not be said, that what we gain in refinement, we lose in strength. Are the temples, raised by our modern architects, of a weaker structure, because they are not formed with shapeless stones, but with the magnificence of polished marble, and decorations of the richest gilding?

XXI. Shall I fairly own to you the impression

which I generally receive from the ancient orators? They make me laugh, or lull me to sleep. Nor is this the case only, when I read the orations of Canutus (*a*), Arrius, Furnius, Toranius and others of the same school, or rather the same infirmary (*b*): an emaciated, sickly race of orators; without sinew, colour, or proportion. But what shall be said of your admired Calvus (*c*)? He, I think, has left no less than one and twenty volumes: in the whole collection, there is not more than one or two short orations, that can pretend to perfection in the kind. Upon this point there is no difference of opinion. Who now reads his declamations against Asitius or Drusus? His speeches against Vatinius are in the hands of the curious, particularly the second, which must be allowed to be a masterpiece. The language is elegant; the sentiments are striking, and the ear is satisfied with the roundness of the periods. In this specimen we see that he had an idea of just composition, but his genius was not equal to his judgment. The orations of Cælius, though upon the whole defective, are not without their beauties. Some passages are highly finished. In those we acknowledge the nice touches of modern elegance. In general, however, the coarse expression, the halting period, and the vulgarity of the sentiments, have too much of the leaven of antiquity.

If Cælius (*d*) is still admired, it is not, I believe, in any of those parts that bear the mark of a rude illiterate age. With regard to Julius Cæsar (*e*), engaged as he was in projects of vast ambition, we

may forgive him the want of that perfection which might otherwise be expected from so sublime a genius. Brutus, in like manner, may be excused on account of his philosophical speculations. Both he and Cæsar, in their oratorical attempts, fell short of themselves. Their warmest admirers acknowledge the fact, nor is there an instance to the contrary, unless we except Cæsar's speech for Decius the Samnite (*f*), and that of Brutus for king (*g*) Dejotarus. But are those performances, and some others of the same lukewarm temper, to be received as works of genius? He who admires those productions, may be left to admire their verses also. For verses they both made, and sent them into the world, I will not say, with more success than Cicero, but certainly more to their advantage, for their poetry had the good fortune to be little known.

Asinius lived near our own times (*h*). He seems to have studied in the old school of Menenius and Appius. He composed tragedies as well as orations, but in a style so harsh and rugged, that one would think him the disciple of Accius and Pacuvius. He mistook the nature of eloquence, which may then be said to have attained its true beauty, when the parts unite with smoothness, strength, and proportion. As in the human body the veins should not swell too high, nor the bones and sinews appear too prominent; but its form is then most graceful, when a pure and temperate blood gives animation (*i*) to the whole frame; when the muscles have their proper play, and the colour of health is diffused over the several parts. I am not willing to disturb the

memory of Corvinus Messala (*k*). If he did not reach the graces of modern composition, the defect does not seem to have sprung from choice. The vigour of his genius was not equal to his judgment.

XXII. I now proceed to Cicero, who we find, had often upon his hands the very controversy, that engages us at present. It was the fashion with his contemporaries to admire the ancients, while he, on the contrary, contended for the eloquence of his own time. Were I to mention the quality that placed him at the head of his rivals I should say it was the solidity of his judgment. It was he that first showed a taste for polished and graceful oratory. He was happy in his choice of words, and he had the art of giving weight and harmony to his composition. We find in many passages a warm imagination, and luminous sentences. In his later speeches, he has lively sallies of wit and fancy. Experience had then matured his judgment, and after long practice, he found the true oratorical style. In his earlier productions we see the rough cast of antiquity. The exordium is tedious; the narration is drawn into length; luxuriant passages are not retouched with care; he is not easily affected, and he rarely takes fire; his sentiments are not always happily expressed (*a*), nor are the periods closed with energy. There is nothing so highly finished, as to tempt you to avail yourself of a borrowed beauty. In short, his speeches are like a rude building, which is strong and durable, but wants that grace

and consonance of parts which gives symmetry and perfection to the whole.

In oratory, as in architecture, I require ornament as well as use. From the man of ample fortune, who undertakes to build, we expect elegance and proportion. It is not enough that his house will keep out the wind and the rain; it must strike the eye, and present a pleasing object. Nor will it suffice that the furniture may answer all domestic purposes; it should be rich, fashionable, elegant; it should have gold and gems so curiously wrought, that they will bear examination, often viewed, and always admired. The common utensils, which are either mean or sordid, should be carefully removed out of sight. In like manner, the true orator should avoid the trite and vulgar. Let him reject the antiquated phrase, and whatever is covered with the rust of time; let his sentiments be expressed with spirit, not in careless, ill-constructed, languid periods, like a dull writer of annals; let him banish low scurrility, and, in short, let him know how to diversify his style, that he may not fatigue the ear with a monotony, ending forever with the same unvaried cadence (*b*).

XXIII. I shall say nothing of the false wit, and insipid play upon words, which we find in Cicero's orations. His pleasant conceits about the *wheel of fortune* (*a*), and the arch raillery on the equivocal meaning of the word VERRES (*b*), do not merit a moment's attention. I omit the perpetual recurrence of the phrase, ESSE VIDEATUR (*c*), which chimes in our ears at the close of so many sentences, sound-

ing big, but signifying nothing. These are petty blemishes; I mention them with reluctance. I say nothing of other defects equally improper: and yet those very defects are the delight of such as affect to call themselves ancient orators. I need not single them out by name: the men are sufficiently known; it is enough to allude, in general terms, to the whole class.

We all are sensible that there is a set of critics now existing, who prefer Lucilius (*d*) to Horace, and Lucretius (*e*) to Virgil; who despise the eloquence of Aufidius Bassus (*f*) and Servilius Nonianus, and yet admire Varro and (*g*) Sisenna. By these pretenders to taste, the works of our modern rhetoricians are thrown by with neglect, and even fastidious disdain: while those of Calvus are held in the highest esteem. We see these men prosing in their ancient style before the judges; but we see them left without an audience, deserted by the people, and hardly endured by their clients. The truth is, their cold and spiritless manner has no attraction. They call it sound oratory, but it is want of vigour; like that precarious state of health which weak constitutions preserve by abstinence. What physician will pronounce that a strong habit of body, which requires constant care and anxiety of mind? To say barely, that we are not ill, is surely not enough. True health consists in vigour, a generous warmth, and a certain alacrity in the whole frame. He, who is only not indisposed, is little distant from actual illness.

With you, my friends, the case is different: pro-

ceed, as you well can, and in fact, as you do, to adorn our age with all the grace and splendour of true oratory. It is with pleasure, Messala, that I see you selecting for imitation the liveliest models of the ancient school. You too, Maternus, and you, my friend, Secundus (*h*), you both possess the happy art of adding to weight of sentiment all the dignity of language. To a copious invention you unite the judgment that knows how to distinguish the specific qualities of different authors. The beauty of order is yours. When the occasion demands it, you can expand and amplify with strength and majesty; and you know when to be concise with energy. Your periods flow with ease, and your composition has every grace of style and sentiment. You command the passions with resistless sway, while in yourselves you beget a temperance so truly dignified, that, though, perhaps, envy and the malignity of the times may be unwilling to proclaim your merit, posterity will do you ample justice (*i*).

XXIV. As soon as Aper concluded, You see, said Maternus, the zeal and ardour of our friend: in the cause of the moderns, what a torrent of eloquence! against the ancients, what a fund of invective! With great spirit, and a vast compass of learning, he has employed against his masters the arts, for which he is indebted to them. And yet all this vehemence must not deter you, Messala, from the performance of your promise. A formal defence of the ancients, is by no means necessary. We do not presume to vie with that illustrious race. We have

been praised by Aper, but we know our inferiority. He himself is aware of it, though, in imitation of the ancient manner (*a*), he has thought proper, for the sake of a philosophical debate, to take the wrong side of the question. In answer to his argument, we do not desire you to expatiate in praise of the ancients: their fame wants no addition. What we request is, an investigation of the causes which have produced so rapid a decline from the flourishing state of genuine eloquence. I call it rapid, since, according to Aper's own chronology, the period from the death of Cicero does not exceed one hundred and twenty years (*b*).

XXV. I am willing, said Messala, to pursue the plan which you have recommended. The question, whether the men, who flourished above one hundred years ago, are to be accounted ancients, has been started by my friend Aper, and, I believe, it is of the first impression. But it is a mere dispute about words. The discussion of it is of no moment, provided it be granted, whether we call them ancients or our predecessors, or give them any other appellation, that the eloquence of those times was superior to that of the present age. When Aper tells us, that different periods of time produced new modes of oratory, I see nothing to object; nor shall I deny that in one and the same period the style and manners have greatly varied. But this I assume, that among the orators of Greece, Demosthenes holds the first rank, and after him (*a*) Æschynes, Hyperides, Lysias, and Lycurgus, in regular succession.

That age, by common consent, is allowed to be the flourishing period of Attic eloquence.

In like manner, Cicero stands at the head of our Roman orators, while Calvus, Asinius, and Cæsar, Cælius, and Brutus, follow him at a distance; all of them superior, not only to every former age, but to the whole race that came after them. Nor is it material that they differ in the mode, since they all agree in the kind. Calvus is close and nervous; Asinius more open and harmonious; Cæsar (*b*) is distinguished by the splendour of his diction; Cælius by a caustic severity; and gravity is the characteristic of Brutus. Cicero is more luxuriant in amplification, and he has strength and vehemence. They all, however, agree in this: their eloquence is manly, sound, and vigorous. Examine their works, and you will see the energy of congenial minds, a family-likeness in their genius, however it may take a distinct colour from the specific qualities of the men. True, they detracted from each other's merit. In their letters, which are still extant, we find some strokes of mutual hostility. But this littleness does not impeach their eloquence: their jealousy was the infirmity of human nature. Calvus, Asinius, and Cicero might have their fits of animosity, and, no doubt, were liable to envy, malice, and other degrading passions: they were great orators, but they were men.

Brutus is the only one of the set, who may be thought superior to petty contentions. He spoke his mind with freedom, and, I believe, without a tincture of malice. He did not envy Cæsar himself, and

can it be imagined that he envied Cicero? As to Galba (*c*), Lælius, and others of a remote period, against whom we have heard Aper's declamation, I need not undertake their defence, since I am willing to acknowledge, that in their style and manner we perceive those defects and blemishes, which it is natural to expect, while art, as yet in its infancy, has made no advances towards perfection.

XXVI. After all, if the best form of eloquence must be abandoned, and some new-fangled style must grow into fashion, give me the rapidity of Gracchus (*a*), or the more solemn manner of Crassus (*b*), with all their imperfections, rather than the effeminate delicacy of (*c*) Mæcenas, or the tinkling cymbal (*d*) of Gallio. The most homely dress is preferable to gaudy colours and meretricious ornaments. The style in vogue at present, is an innovation against every thing just and natural: it is not even manly. The luxuriant phrase, the inanity of tuneful periods, and the wanton levity of the whole composition, are fit for nothing but the histrionic art, as if they were written for the stage. To the disgrace of the age (however astonishing it may appear) it is the boast, the pride, the glory of our present orators, that their periods are musical enough either for the dancer's heel (*e*), or the warbler's throat. Hence it is, that by a frequent, but preposterous, metaphor, the orator is said to speak in melodious cadence, and the dancer to move with expression. In this view of things, even (*f*) Cassius Severus (the only modern whom Aper has ventured

to name), if we compare him with the race that followed, may be fairly pronounced a legitimate orator, though it must be acknowledged, that in what remains of his composition, he is clumsy without strength, and violent without spirit. He was the first that deviated from the great masters of his art. He despised all method and regular arrangement; indelicate in his choice of words, he paid no regard to decency; eager to attack, he left himself unguarded; he brandished his weapons without skill or address; and, to speak plainly, he wrangled, but did not argue. And yet, notwithstanding these defects, he was, as I have already said, superior to all that came after him, whether we regard the variety of his learning, the urbanity of his wit, or the vigour of his mind. I expected that Aper, after naming this orator, would have drawn up the rest of his forces in regular order. He has fallen, indeed, upon Asinius, Cælius, and Calvus; but where are his champions to enter the lists with them? I imagined that he had a phalanx in reserve, and that we should have seen them man by man giving battle to Cicero, Cæsar, and the rest in succession. He has singled out some of the ancients, but has brought none of his moderns into the field. He thought it enough to give them a good character in their absence. In this, perhaps, he acted with prudence: he was afraid, if he selected a few, that the rest of the tribe would take offence. For among the rhetoricians of the present day, is there one to be found, who does not, in his own opinion, tower above Cicero, though he has the modesty to yield to Gabinianus (g)?

XXVII. What Aper has omitted, I intend to perform. I shall produce his moderns by name, to the end that, by placing the example before our eyes, we may be able more distinctly to trace the steps by which the vigour of ancient eloquence has fallen to decay. Maternus interrupted him. I wish, he said, that you would come at once to the point: we claim your promise. The superiority of the ancients is not in question. We want no proof of it. Upon that point my opinion is decided. But the causes of our rapid decline from ancient excellence remain to be unfolded. We know that you have turned your thoughts to this subject, and we expected from you a calm disquisition, had not the violent attack which Aper made upon your favourite orators, roused your spirit, and perhaps, given you some offence. Far from it, replied Messala; he has given me no offence; nor must you, my friends, take umbrage, if at any time a word should fall from me, not quite agreeable to your way of thinking. We are engaged in a free inquiry, and you know, that, in this kind of debate, the established law allows every man to speak his mind without reserve. That is the law, replied Maternus; you may proceed in perfect security. When you speak of the ancients, speak of them with ancient freedom, which, I fear, is at a lower ebb than even the genius of those eminent men.

XXVIII. Messala resumed his discourse: The causes of the decay of eloquence are by no means difficult to be traced. They are, I believe, well

known to you, Maternus, and also to Secundus, not excepting my friend Aper. It seems, however, that I am now, at your request, to unravel the business. But there is no mystery in it. We know that eloquence, with the rest of the polite arts, has lost its former lustre: and yet, it is not a dearth of men, or a decay of talents, that has produced this fatal effect. The true causes are, the dissipation of our young men, the inattention of parents, the ignorance of those who pretend to give instruction, and the total neglect of ancient discipline. The mischief began at Rome, it has overrun all Italy, and is now, with rapid strides, spreading through the provinces. The effects, however, are more visible at home, and, therefore, I shall confine myself to the reigning vices of the capital; vices that wither every virtue in the bud, and continue their baleful influence through every season of life.

But before I enter on the subject, it will not be useless to look back to the system of education that prevailed in former times, and to the strict discipline of our ancestors, in a point of so much moment as the formation of youth. In the times to which I now refer, the son of every family was the legitimate offspring of a virtuous mother. The infant, as soon as born, was not consigned to the mean dwelling of a hireling nurse (*a*), but was reared and cherished in the bosom of a tender parent. To regulate all household affairs, and attend to her infant race, was, at that time, the glory of the female character. A matron, related to the family, and distinguished by the purity of her life, was chosen to watch the progress

of the tender mind. In her presence not one indecent word was uttered; nothing was done against propriety and good manners. The hours of study and serious employment were settled by her direction; and not only so, but even the diversions of the children were conducted with modest reserve and sanctity of manners. Thus it was that Cornelia (*b*), the mother of the Gracchi, superintended the education of her illustrious issue. It was thus that Aurelia (*c*) trained up Julius Cæsar; and thus, Atia (*d*) formed the mind of Augustus. The consequence of this regular discipline was, that the young mind grew up in innocence, unstained by vice, unwarped by irregular passions, and under that culture, received the seeds of science. Whatever was the peculiar bias, whether to the military art, the study of the laws, or the profession of eloquence, that engrossed the whole attention, and the youth, thus directed, embraced the entire compass of one favourite science.

XXIX. In the present age, what is our practice? The infant is committed to a Greek chambermaid, and a slave or two, chosen for the purpose, generally the worst of the whole household train; all utter strangers to every liberal notion. In that worshipful society (*a*) the youth grows up, imbibing folly and vulgar error. Throughout the house, not one servant cares what he says or does (*b*) in the presence of his young master: and indeed how should it be otherwise? The parents themselves are the first to give their children the worst examples of vice and

luxury. The stripling consequently loses all sense of shame, and soon forgets the respect he owes to others as well as to himself. A passion for horses, players and gladiators (*c*) seems to be the epidemic folly of the times. The child receives it in his mother's womb; he brings it with him into the world; and in a mind so possessed, what room for science, or any generous purpose?

In our houses, at our tables, sports and interludes are the topics of conversation. Enter the places of academical lectures, and who talks of any other subject? The preceptors themselves have caught the contagion. Nor can this be wondered at. To establish a strict and regular discipline, and to succeed by giving proofs of their genius, is not the plan of our modern rhetoricians. They pay their court to the great, and, by servile adulation, increase the number of their pupils. Need I mention the manner of conveying the first elements of school learning? No care is taken to give the student a taste for the best authors (*d*); the page of history lies neglected; the study of men and manners is no part of their system; and every branch of useful knowledge is left uncultivated. A preceptor is called in, and education is then thought to be in a fair way. But I shall have occasion hereafter to speak more fully of that class of men, called rhetoricians. It will then be seen, at what period that profession first made its appearance at Rome, and what reception it met with from our ancestors.

XXX. Before I proceed, let us advert for a mo-

ment to the plan of ancient discipline. The unwearied diligence of the ancient orators, their habits of meditation, and their daily exercise in the whole circle of arts and sciences, are amply displayed in the books which they have transmitted to us. The treatise of Cicero, entitled Brutus (*a*), is in all our hands. In that work, after commemorating the orators of a former day, he closes the account with the particulars of his own progress in science, and the method he took in educating himself to the profession of oratory. He studied the civil law under (*b*) Mucius Scævola; he was instructed in the various systems of philosophy, by Philo (*c*) of the academic school, and by Diodorus the stoic; and though Rome, at that time abounded with the best professors, he made a voyage to Greece (*d*), and thence to Asia, in order to enrich his mind with every branch of learning. Hence that store of knowledge which appears in all his writings. Geometry, music, grammar, and every useful art were familiar to him. He embraced the whole science of logic (*e*) and ethics. He studied the operations of nature. His diligence of inquiry opened to him the long chain of causes and effects, and, in short, the whole system of physiology was his own. From a mind thus replenished, it is no wonder, my good friends, that we see in the compositions of that extraordinary man that affluence of ideas, and that prodigious flow of eloquence. In fact, it is not with oratory as with the other arts, which are confined to certain objects, and circumscribed within their own peculiar limits. He alone deserves the name of an orator,

who can speak in a copious style, with ease or dignity, as the subject requires; who can find language to decorate his argument; who through the passions can command the understanding; and, while he serves mankind, knows how to delight the judgment and the imagination of his audience.

XXXI. Such was, in ancient times, the idea of an orator. To form that illustrious character, it was not thought necessary to declaim in the schools of rhetoricians (*a*), or to make a vain parade in fictitious controversies, which were not only void of all reality, but even of a shadow of probability. Our ancestors pursued a different plan: they stored their minds with just ideas of moral good and evil; with the rules of right and wrong, and the fair and foul in human transactions. These, on every controverted point, are the orator's province. In courts of law, just and unjust undergo his discussion; in political debate, between what is expedient and honourable, it is his to draw the line; and those questions are so blended in their nature, that they enter into every cause. On such important topics, who can hope to bring variety of matter, and to dignify that matter with style and sentiment, if he has not, before hand, enlarged his mind with the knowledge of human nature? with the laws of moral obligation? the deformity of vice, the beauty of virtue? and other points which do not immediately belong to the theory of ethics?

The orator, who has enriched his mind with these materials, may be truly said to have acquired the

powers of persuasion. He who knows the nature of indignation, will be able to kindle or allay that passion in the breast of the judge; and the advocate, who has considered the effect of compassion, and from what secret springs it flows, will best know how to soften the mind, and melt it into tenderness. It is by these secrets of his art that the orator gains his influence. Whether he has to do with the prejudiced, the angry, the envious, the melancholy, or the timid, he can bridle their various passions, and hold the reins in his own hand. According to the disposition of his audience, he will know when to check the workings of the heart, and when to raise them to their full tumult of emotion.

Some critics are chiefly pleased with that close mode of oratory, which in a laconic manner states the facts, and forms an immediate conclusion: in that case, it is obvious how necessary it is to be a complete master of the rules of logic. Others delight in a more open, free, and copious style, where the arguments are drawn from topics of general knowledge; for this purpose, the peripatetic school (*b*) will supply the orator with ample materials. The academic philosopher (*c*) will inspire him with warmth and energy; Plato will give the sublime, and Zenophon that equal-flow which charms us in that amiable writer. The rhetorical figure, which is called exclamation, so frequent with Epicurus (*d*) and Metrodorus, will add to a discourse those sudden breaks of passion, which give motion, strength, and vehemence.

It is not for the stoic school, nor for their ima-

ginary wise man, that I am laying down rules. I am forming an orator, whose business it is, not to adhere to one sect, but to go the round of all the arts and sciences. Accordingly we find, that the great masters of ancient eloquence laid their foundation in a thorough study of the civil law, and to that fund they added grammar, music, and geometry. The fact is, in most of the causes that occur, perhaps in every cause, a due knowledge of the whole system of jurisprudence is an indispensable requisite. There are likewise many subjects of litigation, in which an acquaintance with other sciences is of the highest use.

XXXII. Am I to be told, that to gain some slight information on particular subjects, as occasion may require, will sufficiently answer the purposes of an orator? In answer to this, let it be observed, that the application of what we draw from our own fund, is very different from the use we make of what we borrow. Whether we speak from digested knowledge, or the mere suggestion of others, the effect is soon perceived. Add to this, that conflux of ideas with which the different sciences enrich the mind, gives an air of dignity to whatever we say, even in cases where that depth of knowledge is not required. Science adorns the speaker at all times, and, where it is least expected, confers a grace that charms every hearer, the man of erudition feels it, and the unlettered part of the audience acknowledge the effect, without knowing the cause. A murmur of applause ensues; the speaker is allowed to have

laid in a store of knowledge; he possesses all the powers of persuasion, and then is called an orator indeed.

I take the liberty to add, if we aspire to that honourable appellation, that there is no way but that which I have chalked out. No man was ever yet a complete orator, and, I affirm, never can be, unless, like the soldier marching to the field of battle, he enters the forum armed at all points with the sciences and the liberal arts. Is that the case in these our modern times? The style which we hear every day, abounds with colloquial barbarisms, and vulgar phraseology: no knowledge of the laws is heard; our municipal policy is wholly neglected, and even the decrees of the senate are treated with contempt and derision. Moral philosophy is discarded, and the maxims of ancient wisdom are unworthy of their notice. In this manner, eloquence is dethroned; she is banished from her rightful dominions, and obliged to dwell in the cold regions of antithesis, forced conceit, and pointed sentences. The consequence is, that she, who was once the sovereign mistress of the sciences, and led them as handmaids in her train, is now deprived of her attendants, reduced, impoverished, and, stripped of her usual honours (I might say of her genius), compelled to exercise a mere plebeian art.

And now, my friends, I think I have laid open the efficient cause of the decline of eloquence. Need I call witnesses to support my opinion? I name Demosthenes among the Greeks. He, we are assured, constantly attended (*a*) the lectures of Plato.

I name Cicero among the Romans: he tells us (I believe I can repeat his words), that if he attained any degree of excellence, he owed it, not so much to the precepts of rhetoricians, as to his meditations in the walks of the academic school. I am aware that other causes of our present degeneracy may be added; but that task I leave to my friends, since I now may flatter myself that I have performed my promise. In doing it, I fear, that, as often happens to me, I have incurred the danger of giving offence. Were a certain class of men to hear the principles which I have advanced in favour of legal knowledge and sound philosophy, I should expect to be told that I have been all the time commending my own visionary schemes.

XXXIII. You will excuse me, replied Maternus, if I take the liberty to say that you have by no means finished your part of our inquiry. You seem to have spread your canvas, and to have touched the outlines of your plan; but there are other parts that still require the colouring of so masterly a hand. The stores of knowledge, with which the ancients enlarged their minds, you have fairly explained, and, in contrast to that pleasing picture, you have given us a true draught of modern ignorance. But we now wish to know, what were the exercises, and what the discipline, by which the youth of former times prepared themselves for the honours of their profession. It will not, I believe, be contended, that theory, and systems of art, are of themselves sufficient to form a genuine orator. It is by

practice, and by constant exertion that the faculty of speech improves, till the genius of the man expands, and flourishes in its full vigour. This, I think, you will not deny, and my two friends, if I may judge by their looks, seem to give their assent. Aper and Secundus agreed without hesitation.

Messala proceeded as follows: Having, as I conceive, shown the seed-plots of ancient eloquence, and the fountains of science from which they drew such copious streams; it remains now to give some idea of the labour, the assiduity, and the exercises, by which they trained themselves to their profession. I need not observe, that in the pursuit of science, method and constant exercise are indispensable: for who can hope, without regular attention, to master abstract schemes of philosophy, and embrace the whole compass of the sciences? Knowledge must be grafted in the mind by frequent meditation (*a*); to that must be added the faculty of conveying our ideas; and, to make sure of our impression, we must be able to adorn our thoughts with the colours of true eloquence. Hence it is evident that the same arts, by which the mind lays in its stock of knowledge, must be still pursued, in order to attain a clear and graceful manner of conveying that knowledge to others. This may be thought refined and too abstruse. If, however, we are still to be told that science and elocution are things in themselves distinct and unrelated; this, at least, may be assumed, that he, who, with a fund of previous knowledge, undertakes the province of oratory, will bring with him a mind well seasoned,

and duly prepared for the study and exercise of real eloquence.

XXXIV. The practice of our ancestors was agreeable to this theory. The youth who was intended for public declamation, went forth, under the care of his father, or some near relation, with all the advantages of home-discipline; his mind was expanded by the fine arts, and impregnated with science. He was conducted to the most eminent orator of the time. Under that illustrious patronage he visited the forum; he attended his patron upon all occasions; he listened with attention to his pleadings in the tribunals of justice, and his public harangues before the people; he heard him in the warmth of argument; he noted his sudden replies, and thus, in the field of battle, if I may so express myself, he learned the first rudiments of rhetorical warfare. The advantages of this method are obvious: the young candidate gained courage, and improved his judgment; he studied in open day, amidst the heat of the conflict, where nothing weak or idle could be said with impunity; where every thing absurd was instantly rebuked by the judge, exposed to ridicule by the adversary, and condemned by the whole bar.

In this manner the student was initiated in the rules of sound and manly eloquence; and, though it be true, that he placed himself under the auspices of one orator only, he heard the rest in their turn, and in that diversity of tastes which always prevails in mixed assemblies, he was enabled to distinguish what was excellent or defective in the kind. The

orator in actual business was the best preceptor: the instructions which he gave, were living eloquence, the substance, and not the shadow. He was himself a real combatant, engaged with a zealous antagonist, both in earnest, and not like gladiators, in a mock contest, fighting for prizes. It was a struggle for victory, before an audience always changing, yet always full; where the speaker had his enemies as well as his admirers; and between both, what was brilliant met with applause; what was defective, was sure to be condemned. In this clash of opinions, the genuine orator flourished, and acquired that lasting fame, which, we all know, does not depend on the voice of friends only, but must rebound from the benches filled with your enemies. Extorted applause is the best suffrage.

In that school, the youth of expectation, such as I have delineated, was reared and educated by the most eminent genius of the times. In the forum, he was enlightened by the experience of others; he was instructed in the knowledge of the laws, accustomed to the eye of the judges, habituated to the looks of a numerous audience, and acquainted with the popular taste. After this preparation, he was called forth to conduct a prosecution, or to take upon himself the whole weight of the defence. The fruit of his application was then seen at once. He was equal in his first outset, to the most arduous business. Thus it was that Crassus, at the age of nineteen (*a*), stood forth the accuser of Papirius Carbo: thus Julius Cæsar, at one-and-twenty, arraigned Dolabella; Asinius Pollio, about the same age, attacked Caius Cato; and Calvus, but a little older, flamed

out against Vatinius. Their several speeches are still extant, and we all read them with admiration.

XXXV. In opposition to this system of education, what is our modern practice? Our young men are led (*a*) to academical prolusions in the school of vain professors, who call themselves rhetoricians; a race of impostors, who made their first appearance at Rome, not long before the days of Cicero. That they were unwelcome visiters, is evident from the circumstance of their being silenced by the two censors (*b*), Crassus and Domitius. They were ordered, says Cicero, to shut up their school of impudence. Those scenes however are open at present, and there our young students listen to mountebank oratory. I am at a loss how to determine which is most fatal to all true genius, the place itself, the company that frequent it, or the plan of study universally adopted. Can the place impress the mind with awe and respect, where none are ever seen but the raw, the unskilful, and the ignorant? In such an assembly what advantage can arise? Boys harangue before boys, and young men exhibit before their fellows. The speaker is pleased with his declamation, and the hearer with his judgment. The very subjects on which they display their talents, tend to no useful purpose. They are of two sorts, persuasive or controversial. The first, supposed to be of the lighter kind, are usually assigned to the youngest scholars: the last are reserved for students of longer practice and riper judgment. But, gracious powers! what are the compositions produced on these occasions?

The subject is remote from truth, and even probability, unlike any thing that ever happened in human life: and no wonder if the superstructure perfectly agrees with the foundation. It is to these scenic exercises that we owe a number of frivolous topics, such as the reward due to the slayer of a tyrant; the election to be made by (*c*) violated virgins; the rites and ceremonies proper to be used during a raging pestilence; the loose behaviour of married women: with other fictitious subjects, hackneyed in the schools, and seldom or never heard of in our courts of justice. These imaginary questions are treated with gaudy flourishes, and all the tumor of unnatural language. But after all this mighty parade, call these striplings from their schools of rhetoric, into the presence of the judges, and to the real business of the bar (*d*):

1. "What figure will they make before that so-"lemn judicature? Trained up in chimerical exer-"cises, strangers to the municipal laws, unacquainted "with the principles of natural justice and the rights "of nations, they will bring with them that false "taste which they have been for years acquiring, but "nothing worthy of the public ear, nothing useful "to their clients. They have succeeded in nothing "but the art of making themselves ridiculous. The "peculiar quality of the teacher (*a*) whatever it be, "is sure to transfuse itself into the performance of "the pupil. Is the master haughty, fierce, and arro-"gant? The scholar swells with confidence; his eye "threatens prodigious things, and his harangue is an

" ostentatious display of the common places of school
" oratory, dressed up with dazzling splendour, and
" thundered forth with emphasis. On the other hand,
" does the master value himself for the delicacy of
" his taste, for the foppery of glittering conceits and
" tinsel ornament? The youth who has been educated
" under him, sets out with the same artificial pretti-
" ness, the same foppery of style and manner. A
" simper plays on his countenance; his elocution is
" soft and delicate; his action pathetic; his sentences
" entangled in a maze of sweet perplexity; he plays
" off the whole of his theatrical skill, and hopes to
" elevate and surprise.

2. " This love of finery, this ambition to shine
" and glitter, has destroyed all true eloquence. Ora-
" tory is not the child of hireling teachers, it springs
" from another source, from a love of liberty, from
" a mind replete with moral science, and a tho-
" rough knowledge of the laws; from a due respect
" for the best examples, from profound meditation
" (*a*), and a style formed by constant practice.
" While these were thought essential requisites,
" eloquence flourished. But the true beauties of lan-
" guage fell into disuse, and oratory went to ruin.
" The spirit evaporated, I fear, to revive no more.
" I wish I may prove a false prophet; but we know
" the progress of art in every age and country. Rude
" at first, it rises from low beginnings, and goes
" on improving, till it reaches the highest perfection
" in the kind. But at that point it is never stationary:
" it soon declines, and from the corruption of what

" is good, it is not in the nature of man, nor in the " power of human faculties, to rise again to the same " degree of excellence.

3. " Messala closed with a degree of vehemence, " and then turning to Maternus and Secundus (*a*), " It is yours, he said, to pursue this train of argu- " ment; or if any cause of the decay of eloquence " lies still deeper, you will oblige us by bringing it " to light. Maternus, I presume, will find no diffi- " culty: a poetic genius holds commerce with the " gods, and to him nothing will remain a secret. As " for Secundus, he has been long a shining orna- " ment of the forum, and by his own experience " knows how to distinguish genuine eloquence from " the corrupt and vicious. Maternus heard this " sally of his friend's good humour with a smile. " The task, he said, which you have imposed upon " us, we will endeavour to execute. But though I " am the interpreter of the gods, I must, notwith- " standing, request that Secundus may take the " lead. He is master of the subject, and, in ques- " tions of this kind, experience is better than in- " spiration.

4. " Secundus (*a*) complied with his friend's re- " quest. I yield, he said, the more willingly, as I shall " hazard no new opinion, but rather confirm what " has been urged by Messala. It is certain, that, as " painters are formed by painters, and poets by the " example of poets, so the young orator must learn " his art from orators only. In the schools of rhetori-

"cians (*b*) who think themselves the fountain-head "of eloquence, every thing is false and vitiated. "The true principles of the persuasive art are never "known to the professor, or if at any time there may "be found a preceptor of superior genius, can it be "expected that he shall be able to transfuse into the "mind of his pupil all his own conceptions, pure, un- "mixed, and free from error? The sensibility of the "master, since we have allowed him genius, will be "an impediment: the uniformity of the same dull te- "dious round will give him disgust, and the student "will turn from it with aversion. And yet I am in- "clined to think, that the decay of eloquence would "not have been so rapid, if other causes, more fatal "than the corruption of the schools, had not co-ope- "rated. When the worst models became the objects "of imitation, and not only the young men of the age, "but even the whole body of the people, admired "the new way of speaking, eloquence fell at once into "that state of degeneracy, from which nothing can "recover it. We who came afterwards, found our- "selves in a hopeless situation: we were driven to "wretched expedients, to forced conceits, and the "glitter of frivolous sentences; we were obliged to "hunt after wit, when we could be no longer elo- "quent. By what pernicious examples this was ac- "complished, has been explained by our friend Mes- "sala.

5. "We are none of us strangers to those unhappy "times, when Rome, grown weary of her vast re- "nown in arms, began to think of striking into new "paths of fame, no longer willing to depend on the

"glory of our ancestors. The whole power of the "state was centred in a single ruler, and by the policy "of the prince, men where taught to think no more "of ancient honour. Invention was on the stretch "for novelty, and all looked for something better "than perfection; something rare, far-fetched, and "exquisite. New modes of pleasure were devised. "In that period of luxury and dissipation, when the "rage for new inventions was grown epidemic, Se- "neca rose. His talents were of a peculiar sort, "acute, refined, and polished; but polished to a "degree that made him prefer affectation and wit "to truth and nature. The predominance of his "genius was great, and, by consequence, he gave "the mortal stab to all true eloquence (*a*). When I "say this, let me not be suspected of that low ma- "lignity which would tarnish the fame of a great "character. I admire the man, and the philosopher. "The undaunted firmness with which he braved the "tyrant's frown, will do immortal honour to his "memory. But the fact is, and why should I dis- "guise it? the virtues of the writer have undone his "country.

6. "To bring about this unhappy revolution, no "man was so eminently qualified (*a*). His under- "standing was large and comprehensive; his genius "rich and powerful; his way of thinking ingenious, "elegant, and even charming. His researches in "moral philosophy excited the admiration of all; "and moral philosophy is never so highly praised, "as when the manners are in a state of degeneracy.

" Seneca knew the taste of the times. He had the " art to gratify the public ear. His style is neat, yet " animated; concise, yet clear; familiar, yet seldom " inelegant. Free from redundancy, his periods are " often abrupt, but they surprise by their viva- " city. He shines in pointed sentences, and that un- " ceasing persecution of vice, which is kept up with " uncommon ardour, spreads a lustre over all his " writings. His brilliant style charmed by its novel- " ty. Every page sparkles with wit, with gay allu- " sions, and sentiments of virtue. No wonder that " the graceful ease, and sometimes the dignity of " his expression, made their way into the forum. " What pleased universally, soon found a number " of imitators. Add to this the advantages of rank " and honours. He mixed in the splendour, and " perhaps, in the vices of the court. The resentment " of Caligula, and the acts of oppression which soon " after followed, served only to adorn his name. To " crown all, Nero was his pupil, and his murderer. " Hence the character and genius of the man rose " to the highest eminence. What was admired, was " imitated, and true oratory was heard no more. The " love of novelty prevailed, and for the dignified sim- " plicity of ancient eloquence no taste remained. The " art itself, and all its necessary discipline, became " ridiculous. In that black period, when vice tri- " umphed at large, and virtue had every thing to fear, " the temper of the times was propitious to the cor- " ruptors of taste and liberal science. The dignity of " composition was no longer of use. It had no power " to stop the torrent of vice which deluged the city of

"Rome, and virtue found it a feeble protection. In "such a conjuncture it was not safe to speak the "sentiments of the heart. To be obscure, abrupt, "and dark, was the best expedient. Then it was "that the affected sententious brevity came into "vogue. To speak concisely, and with an air of "precipitation, was the general practice. To work "the ruin of a person accused, a single sentence, "or a splendid phrase was sufficient. Men defended "themselves in a short brilliant expression; and if "that did not protect them, they died with a lively "apothegm, and their last words were wit. This "was the fashion introduced by Seneca. The pecu- "liar, but agreeable vices of his style wrought the "downfal of eloquence. The solid was exchanged "for the brilliant, and they, who ceased to be ora- "tors, studied to be ingenious.

7. "Of late, indeed, we have seen the dawn of "better times. In the course of the last six years "Vespasian has revived our hopes (*a*). The friend "of regular manners, and the encourager of ancient "virtue by which Rome was raised to the highest "pinnacle of glory, he has restored the public peace, "and with it the blessings of liberty. Under his pro- "pitious influence, the arts and sciences begin once "more to flourish, and genius has been honoured "with his munificence. The example of his sons (*b*) "has helped to kindle a spirit of emulation. We "beheld, with pleasure, the two princes adding to "the dignity of their rank, and their fame in arms, "all the grace and elegance of polite literature. But

" it is fatally true, that when the public taste is once " corrupted, the mind, which has been warped, sel- " dom recovers its former tone. This difficulty was " rendered still more insurmountable by the licen- " tious spirit of our young men, and the popular " applause, that encouraged the false taste of the " times. I need not, in this company, call to mind " the unbridled presumption, with which, as soon " as genuine eloquence expired, the young men of " the age took possession of the forum. Of modest " worth and ancient manners nothing remained. We " know that in former times the youthful candidate " was introduced in the forum by a person of con- " sular rank (*c*), and by him set forward in his road " to fame. That laudable custom being at an end, " all fences were thrown down: no sense of shame " remained, no respect for the tribunals of justice. " The aspiring genius wanted no patronage; he " scorned the usual forms of a regular introduction; " and, with full confidence in his own powers, he ob- " truded himself on the court. Neither the solem- " nity of the place, nor the sanctity of laws, nor the " importance of the oratorical character, could re- " strain the impetuosity of young ambition. Uncon- " scious of the importance of the undertaking, and " less sensible of his own incapacity, the bold adven- " turer rushed at once into the most arduous business. " Arrogance supplied the place of talents.

8. " To oppose the torrent, that bore down every " thing, the danger of losing all fair and honest fame " was the only circumstance that could afford a ray

" of hope. But even that slender fence was soon re-
" moved by the arts of (*a*) Largius Licinius. He
" was the first that opened a new road to ambition.
" He intrigued for fame, and filled the benches with
" an audience suborned to applaud his declamations.
" He had his circle around him, and shouts of appro-
" bation followed. It was upon that occasion that
" Domitius Afer (*b*) emphatically said, Eloquence
" is now at the last gasp. It had, indeed, at that
" time shown manifest symptoms of decay, but its
" total ruin may be dated from the introduction of
" a mercenary band (*c*) to flatter and applaud. If we
" except a chosen few, whose superior genius has
" not yet been seduced from truth and nature, the
" rest are followed by their partisans, like actors on
" the stage, subsisting altogether on the bought suf-
" frages of mean and prostitute hirelings. Nor is
" this sordid traffic carried on with secrecy: we see
" the bargain made in the face of the court; the
" bribe is distributed with as little ceremony as if
" they were in a private party at the orator's own
" house. Having sold their voices. this venal crew
" rush forward from one tribunal to another, the
" distributors of fame, and the sole judges of lite-
" rary merit. The practice is, no doubt, disgraceful.
" To brand it with infamy, two new terms have been
" invented (*d*), one in the Greek language, import-
" ing the venders of praise, and the other in the
" Latin idiom, signifying the parasites who sell their
" applause for a supper. But sarcastic expressions
" have not been able to cure the mischief: the ap-
" plauders by profession have taken courage, and

" the name, which was intended as a stroke of ridi-
" cule, is now become an honourable appellation.

9. " This infamous practice rages at present with
" increasing violence. The party no longer consists
" of freeborn citizens; our very slaves are hired.
" Even before they arrive at full age, we see them
" distributing the rewards of eloquence. Without
" attending to what is said, and without sense
" enough to understand, they are sure to crowd the
" courts of justice, whenever a raw young man,
" stung with the love of fame, but without talents
" to deserve it, obtrudes himself in the character of
" an advocate. The hall resounds with acclamations,
" or rather with a kind of bellowing; for I know
" not by what term to express that savage uproar,
" which would disgrace a theatre.

" Upon the whole, when I consider these infa-
" mous practices, which have brought so much
" dishonour upon a liberal profession, I am far from
" wondering that you, Maternus. judged it time to
" sound your retreat. When you could no longer
" attend with honour, you did well, my friend, to
" devote yourself entirely to the muses. And now,
" since your are to close the debate, permit me to
" request, that besides unfolding the causes of cor-
" rupt eloquence, you will fairly tell us, whether
" you entertain any hopes of better times, and, if
" you do, by what means a reformation may be ac-
" complished.

10. " It is true (*a*), said Maternus, that seeing

" the forum deluged by an inundation of vices, I " was glad, as my friend expressed it, to sound my " retreat. I saw corruption rushing on with hasty " strides, too shameful to be defended, and too " powerful to be resisted. And yet, though urged by " all those motives, I should hardly have renounced " the business of the bar, if the bias of my nature " had not inclined me to other studies. I balanced, " however, for some time. It was, at first, my fixed " resolution to stand to the last a poor remnant of " that integrity and manly eloquence, which still " lingered at the bar, and showed some signs of life. " It was my intention to emulate, not, indeed, with " equal powers, but certainly with equal firmness, " the bright models of ancient times, and, in that " course of practice, to defend the fortunes, the " dignity, and the innocence of my fellow-citizens. " But the strong impulse of inclination was not to " be resisted. I laid down my arms, and deserted " to the safe and tranquil camp of the muses. But " though a deserter, I have not quite forgot the ser- " vice in which I was enlisted. I honour the profes- " sors of real eloquence, and that sentiment, I hope, " will be always warm in my heart.

11. " In my solitary walks and moments of me- " ditation, it often happens that I fall into a train of " thinking on the flourishing state of ancient elo- " quence, and the abject condition to which it is " reduced in modern times. The result of my re- " flections I shall venture to unfold, not with a spirit " of controversy, nor yet dogmatically to enforce

" my own opinion. I may differ in some points, but " from a collision of sentiments it is possible that " some new light may be struck out. My friend " Aper will, therefore, excuse me, if I do not, with " him, prefer the false glitter of the moderns to the " solid vigour of ancient genius. At the sane time, " it is not my intention to disparage his friends. " Messala too, whom you, Secundus, have closely " followed, will forgive me, if I do not, in every " thing, coincide with his opinion. The vices of the " forum, which you have both, as becomes men of " integrity, attacked with vehemence, will not have " me for their apologist. But still I may be allowed " to ask, have not you been too much exasperated " against the rhetoricians?

" I will not say in their favour, that I think them " equal to the task of reviving the honours of elo- " quence; but I have known among them, men of " unblemished morals, of regular discipline, great " erudition, and talents every way fit to form the " minds of youth to a just taste for science and the " persuasive arts. In this number one in particular " (a) has lately shone forth with superior lustre. " From his abilities, all that is in the power of man " may fairly be expected. A genius like his would " have been the ornament of better times. Posterity " will admire and honour him. And yet I would not " have Secundus amuse himself with ill-grounded " hopes: neither the learning of that most excellent " man, nor the industry of such as may follow him, " will be able to promote the interests of eloquence, " or to establish her former glory. It is a lost cause.

"Before the vices which have been so ably de-
"scribed, had spread a general infection, all true
"oratory was at an end. The revolutions in our
"government, and the violence of the times, began
"the mischief, and, in the end, gave the fatal blow.

12. "Nor are we to wonder at this event. In the
"course of human affairs there is no stability, no-
"thing secure or permanent. It is with our minds as
"with our bodies: the latter, as soon as they have
"attained their full growth, and seem to flourish in
"the vigour of health, begin, from that moment, to
"feel the gradual approaches of decay. Our intel-
"lectual powers proceed in the same manner; they
"gain strength by degrees, they arrive at maturity,
"and, when they can no longer improve, they lan-
"guish, droop, and fade away. This is the law of
"nature, to which every age, and every nation, of
"which we have any historical records, have been
"obliged to submit. There is besides another gene-
"ral law, hard perhaps, but wonderfully ordained,
"and it is this: nature, whose operations are always
"simple and uniform, never suffers in any age or
"country, more than one great example of perfec-
"tion in the kind (*a*). This was the case in Greece,
"that prolific parent of genius and of science. She
"had but one Homer, one Plato, one Demosthenes.
"The same has happened at Rome: Virgil stands
"at the head of his art, and Cicero is still unrival-
"led. During a space of seven hundred years our
"ancestors were struggling to reach the summit of
"perfection: Cicero at length arose; he thundered

"forth his immortal energy, and nature was satis-
"fied with the wonder she had made. The force of
"genius could go no further. A new road to fame
"was to be found. We aimed at wit, and gay con-
"ceit, and glittering sentences. The change, indeed,
"was great, but it naturally followed the new form
"of government. Genius died with public liberty.

13. "We find that the discourse of men always
"conforms to the temper of the times. Among sa-
"vage nations (*a*) language is never copious. A few
"words serve the purpose of barbarians, and those
"are always uncouth and harsh, without the artifice
"of connection; short, abrupt, and nervous. In a
"state of polished society, where a single ruler
"sways the sceptre, the powers of the mind take a
"softer tone, and language grows more refined. But
"affectation follows, and precision gives way to de-
"licacy. The just and natural expression is no longer
"the fashion. Living in ease and luxury, men look
"for elegance, and hope by novelty to give a grace
"to adulation. In other nations, where the first prin-
"ciples of the civil union are maintained in vigour;
"where the people live under the government of
"laws, and not the will of man; where the spirit of
"liberty pervades all ranks and orders of the state;
"where every individual holds himself bound, at the
"hazard of his life, to defend the constitution framed
"by his ancestors; where, without being guilty of an
"impious crime, no man dares to violate the rights
"of the whole community; in such a state, the na-
"tional eloquence will be prompt, bold, and anima-

"ted. Should internal dissensions shake the public "peace, or foreign enemies threaten to invade the "land, eloquence comes forth arrayed in terror; she "wields her thunder, and commands all hearts. It is "true, that upon those occasions men of ambition "endeavour, for their own purposes, to spread the "flame of sedition; while the good and virtuous com- "bine their force to quell the turbulent, and repel "the menaces of a foreign enemy. Liberty gains new "strength by the conflict, and the true patriot has "the glory of serving his country, distinguished by "his valour in the field, and in debate, no less terri- "ble by his eloquence.

14. "Hence it is that in free governments we see "a constellation of orators. Hence Desmosthenes "displayed the powers of his amazing genius, and "acquired immortal honour. He saw a quick and "lively people, dissolved in luxury, open to the se- "ductions of wealth, and ready to submit to a mas- "ter; he saw a great and warlike monarch threaten- "ing destruction to the liberties of his country; he "saw that prince at the head of powerful armies, re- "nowned for victory, possessed of an opulent trea- "sury, formidable in battle, and, by his secret arts, "still more so in the cabinet; he saw that king, "inflamed by ambition and the lust of dominion, "determined to destroy the liberties of Greece. It "was that alarming crisis that called forth the powers "of Demosthenes. Armed with eloquence, and with "eloquence only, he stood as a bulwark against a "combination of enemies foreign and domestic. He

"roused his countrymen from their lethargy: he "kindled the holy flame of liberty; he counteracted "the machinations of Philip, detected his clandestine "frauds, and fired the men of Athens with indigna- "tion. To effect these generous purposes, and defeat "the policy of a subtle enemy, what powers of mind "were necessary! how vast, how copious, how sub- "lime! He thundered and lightened in his discourse; "he faced every danger with undaunted resolution. "Difficulties served only to inspire him with new "ardour. The love of his country glowed in his "heart; liberty roused all his powers, and fame held "forth her immortal wreath to reward his labours. "These were the fine incentives that roused his "genius, and no wonder that his mind expanded "with vast conceptions. He thought for his country, "and, by consequence, every sentiment was sublime; "every expression was grand and magnificent."

XXXVI. The true spirit of genuine eloquence (*a*), like an intense fire, is kept alive by fresh materials: every new commotion gives it vigour, and in proportion as it burns, it expands and brightens to a purer flame. The same causes at Rome produced the same effect. Tempestuous times called forth the genius of our ancestors. The moderns, it is true, have taken fire, and rose above themselves, as often as a quiet, settled, and uniform government gave a fair opportunity; but eloquence, it is certain, flourishes most under a bold and turbulent democracy, where the ambitious citizen, who best can mould to his purposes a fierce and contentious multitude, is

sure to be the idol of the people. In the conflict of parties, that kept our ancestors in agitation, laws were multiplied; the leading chiefs were the favourite demagogues; the magistrates were often engaged in midnight debate; eminent citizens were brought to a public trial; families were set at variance; the nobles were split into factions, and the senate waged incessant war against the people. Hence that flame of eloquence which blazed out under the republican government, and hence that constant fuel that kept the flame alive.

The state, it is true, was often thrown into convulsions; but talents were exercised, and genius opened the way to public honours. He who possessed the powers of persuasion, rose to eminence, and by the arts, which gave him popularity, he was sure to eclipse his colleagues. He strengthened his interest with the leading men, and gained weight and influence not only in the senate, but in all assemblies of the people. Foreign nations (*b*) courted his friendship. The magistrates, setting out for their provinces, made it their business to ingratiate themselves with the popular speaker, and, at their return, took care to renew their homage. The powerful orator had no occasion to solicit for preferment: the offices of prætor and consul stood open to receive him. He was invited to those exalted stations. Even in the rank of a private citizen he had a considerable share of power, since his authority swayed at once the senate and the people. It was in those days a settled maxim, that no man could either rise to dignities, or support himself in office, without possess-

ing, in an eminent degree, a power of words, and dignity of language.

Nor can this be matter of wonder, when we recollect, that persons of distinguished genius were, on various occasions, called forth by the voice of the people, and in their presence obliged to act an important part. Eloquence was the ruling passion of all. The reason is, it was not then sufficient merely to vote in the senate; it was necessary to support that vote with strength of reasoning, and a flow of language. Moreover, in all prosecutions the party accused was expected to make his defence in person, and to examine the witnesses (*c*), who at that time were not allowed to speak in written depositions, but were obliged to give their testimony in open court. In this manner, necessity, no less than the temptation of bright rewards, conspired to make men cultivate the arts of oratory. He who was known to possess the powers of speech, was held in the highest veneration. The mute and silent character fell into contempt. The dread of shame was a motive not less powerful than the ambition that aimed at honours. To sink into the humiliating rank of a client, instead of maintaining the dignity of a patron, was a degrading thought. Men were unwilling to see the followers of their ancestors transferred to other families for protection. Above all, they dreaded the disgrace of being thought unworthy of civil honours; and, if by intrigue they attained their wishes, the fear of being despised for incapacity was a spur to quicken their ardour in the pursuit of literary fame and commanding eloquence.

XXXVII. I do not know whether you have as yet seen the historical memoirs which Mucianus (*a*) has collected, and lately published, containing, in eleven volumes, the transactions of the times, and, in three more, the letters of eminent men who figured on the stage of public business. This portion of history is well authenticated by the original papers, still extant in the libraries of the curious. From this valuable collection it appears, that Pompey and Crassus (*b*) owed their elevation as much to their talents as to their fame in arms; and that Lentulus (*c*), Metellus, Lucullus, Curio, and others of that class, took care to enlarge their minds, and distinguish themselves by their powers of speech. To say all in one word, no man, in those times, rose to eminence in the state, who had not given proof of his genius in the forum and the tribunals of justice.

To this it may be added, that the importance, the splendour, and magnitude of the questions discussed in that period, served to animate the public orator. The subject, beyond all doubt, lifts the mind above itself: it gives vigour to sentiment, and energy to expression. Let the topic be a paltry theft, a dry form of pleading, or a petty misdemeanor; will not the orator feel himself cramped and chilled by the meanness of the question? Give him a cause of magnitude, such as bribery in the election of magistrates, a charge for plundering the allies of Rome, or the murder of Roman citizens, how different then his emotions! how sublime each sentiment! what dignity of language! The effect, it must be admitted, springs from the disasters of society. It is true,

that form of government, in which no such evils occur, must, beyond all question, be allowed to be the best; but since, in the course of human affairs, sudden convulsions must happen, my position is, that they produced, at Rome, that flame of eloquence which at this hour is so much admired. The mind of the orator grows and expands with his subject. Without ample materials no splendid oration was ever yet produced. Demosthenes, I believe, did not owe his vast reputation to the speeches which he made against his guardians (*d*); not was it either the oration in defence of Quinctius, or that for Archias the poet, that established the character of Cicero. It was Catiline, it was Verres, it was Milo and Mark Antony, that spread so much glory round him.

Let me not be misunderstood: I do not say, that for the sake of hearing a bright display of eloquence it is fit that the public peace should be disturbed by the machinations of turbulent and lawless men. But, not to lose sight of the question before us, let it be remembered, that we are inquiring about an art which thrives and flourishes most in tempestuous times. It were, no doubt, better that the public should enjoy the sweets of peace, than be harassed by the calamities of war: but still it is war that produces the soldier and the great commander. It is the same with eloquence. The oftener she is obliged, if I may so express it, to take the field, the more frequent the engagement, in which she gives and receives alternate wounds; and the more fomidable her adversary, the more she rises in pomp and

grandeur, and returns from the warfare of the forum crowned with unfading laurels. He, who encounters danger, is ever sure to win the suffrages of mankind. For such is the nature of the human mind, that, in general, we choose a state of security for ourselves, but never fail to gaze with admiration on the man, whom we see, in the conflict of parties, facing his adversaries, and surmounting difficulties.

XXXVIII. I proceed to another advantage of the ancient forum; I mean the form of proceeding, and the rules of practice observed in those days. Our modern custom is, I grant, more conducive to truth and justice; but that of former times gave to eloquence a free career, and, by consequence, greater weight and splendour. The advocate was not, as now, confined to a few hours (*a*); he might adjourn as often as it suited his convenience; he might expatiate, as his genius prompted him: and the number of days, like that of the several patrons, was unlimited. Pompey was the first, who circumscribed the genius of men within narrower limits (*b*). In his third consulship he gave a check to eloquence, and, as it were, bridled its spirit, but still left all causes to be tried according to law in the forum, and before the prætors. The importance of the business, which was decided in that court of justice, will be evident, if we compare it with the transactions before the centumvirs (*c*), who at present have cognisance of all matters whatever. We have not so much as one oration of Cicero, or Cæsar; of Brutus, Cælius, or Calvus, or any other person-

famous for his eloquence, which was delivered before the last-mentioned jurisdiction, excepting only the speeches of Asinius Pollio (*d*) for the heirs of Urbinia. But those speeches were delivered about the middle of the reign of Augustus, when, after a long peace with foreign nations, and a profound tranquillity at home, that wise and politic prince had conquered all opposition, and not only triumphed over party and faction, but subdued eloquence itself.

XXXIX. What I am going to say will appear, perhaps, too minute; it may border on the ridiculous, and excite your mirth: with all my heart; I will hazard it for that very reason. The dress now in use at the bar has an air of meanness: the speaker is confined in a close robe (*a*), and loses all the grace of action. The very courts of judicature are another objection; all causes are heard at present, in little narrow rooms, where spirit and strenuous exertion are unnecessary. The orator, like a generous steed, requires liberty and ample space; before a scanty tribunal his spirit droops, and the dulness of the scene damps the powers of genius. Add to this, we pay no attention to style; and indeed how should we? No time is allowed for the beauties of composition: the judge calls upon you to begin, and you must obey, liable, at the same time, to frequent interruptions, while documents are read, and witnesses examined.

During all this formality, what kind of an audience has the orator to invigorate his faculties? Two

or three stragglers drop in by chance, and to them the whole business seems to be transacted in solitude. But the orator requires a different scene. He delights in clamour, tumult, and bursts of applause. Eloquence must have her theatre, as was the case in ancient times, when the forum was crowded with the first men in Rome; when a numerous train of clients pressed forward with eager expectation; when the people in their several tribes; when ambassadors from the colonies, and a great part of Italy attended to hear the debate; in short, when all Rome was interested in the event. We know that in the cases of Cornelius, Scaurus, Milo, Bestia, and Vatinius, the concourse was so great, that those several causes were tried before the whole body of the people. A scene so vast and magnificent was enough to inflame the most languid orator. The speeches delivered upon those occasions are in every body's hands, and by their intrinsic excellence, we of this day estimate the genius of the respective authors.

XL. If we now consider the frequent assemblies of the people, and the right of prosecuting the most eminent men in the state; if we reflect on the glory, that sprung from the declared hostility of the most illustrious characters; if we recollect, that even Scipio, Sylla, and Pompey were not sheltered from the storms of eloquence, what a number of causes shall we see conspiring to rouse the spirit of the ancient forum? The malignity of the human heart, always adverse to superior characters, encouraged the orator to persist. The very players, by sarcastic

allusions to men in power, gratified the public ear, and by consequence, sharpened the wit and acrimony of the bold declaimer.

Need I observe to you, that in all I have said, I have not been speaking of that temperate faculty (*a*) which delights in quiet times, supported by its own integrity, and the virtues of moderation? I speak of popular eloquence, the genuine offspring of that licentiousness, to which fools and ill-designing men have given the name of liberty: I speak of bold and turbulent oratory, that inflamer of the people, and constant companion of sedition; that fierce incendiary, that knows no compliance, and scorns to temporize; busy, rash and arrogant, but, in quiet and well regulated governments. utterly unknown. Who ever heard of an orator at Crete or Lacedæmon? In those states a system of rigorous discipline was established by the first principles of the constitution. Macedonian and Persian eloquence are equally unknown. The same may be said of every country, where the plan of government was fixed and uniform.

At Rhodes, indeed, and also at Athens, orators existed without number, and the reason is, in those communities the people directed every thing; a giddy multitude governed, and to say the truth, all things were in the power of all. In like manner, while Rome was engaged in one perpetual scene of contention; while parties, factions, and internal divisions convulsed the state; no peace in the forum, in the senate no union of sentiment; while the tribunals of justice acted without moderation; while the magis-

trates knew no bounds, and no man paid respect to eminent merit; in such times it must be acknowledged that Rome produced a race of noble orators; as in the wild uncultivated field the richest vegetables will often shoot up, and flourish with uncommon vigour. And yet it is fair to ask, could all the eloquence of the Gracchi atone for the laws which they imposed on their country? Could the fame, which Cicero obtained by his eloquence, compensate for the tragic end to which it brought him (*b*)?

XLI. The forum, at present, is the last sad relic of ancient oratory. But does that epitome of former greatness give the idea of a city so well regulated, that we may rest contented with our form of government, without wishing for a reformation of abuses? If we except the man of guilt, or such as labour under the hard hand of oppression, who resorts to us for our assistance? If a municipal city applies for protection, it is, when the inhabitants, harassed by the adjacent states, or rent and torn by intestine divisions, sue for protection. The province that addresses the senate for a redress of grievances, has been oppressed and plundered, before we hear of the complaint. It is true, we vindicate the injured, but to suffer no oppression would surely be better than to obtain relief. Find, if you can, in any part of the world a wise and happy community where no man offends against the laws: in such a nation what can be the use of oratory? You may as well profess the healing art, where ill health is never known. Let men enjoy bodily vigour, and

the practice of physic will have no encouragement. In like manner, where sober manners prevail, and submission to the authority of government is the national virtue, the powers of persuasion are rendered useless. Eloquence has lost her field of glory. In the senate, what need of elaborate speeches, when all good men are already of one mind? What occasion for studied harangues before a popular assembly, where the form of government leaves nothing to the decision of a wild democracy, but the whole administration is conducted by the wisdom of a single ruler? And again; when crimes are rare, and in fact of no great moment, what avails the boasted right of individuals to commence a voluntary prosecution? What necessity for a studied defence, often composed in a style of vehemence, artfully addressed to the passions, and generally stretched beyond all bounds, when justice is executed in mercy, and the judge is of himself disposed to succour the distressed?

Believe me, my very good, and (as far as the times will admit) my eloquent friends, had it been your lot to live under the old republic, and the men, whom we so much admire, had been reserved for the present age; if some god had changed the period of theirs and your existence, the flame of genius had been yours, and the chiefs of antiquity would now be acting with minds subdued to the temper of the times. Upon the whole, since no man can enjoy a state of calm tranquillity, and, at the same time, raise a great and splendid reputation; to be content with the benefits of the age in which we

live, without detracting from our ancestors, is the virtue that best becomes us.

XLII. Maternus concluded (*a*) his discourse. There have been, said Messala, some points advanced, to which I do not entirely accede; and others, which I think requires farther explanation. But the day is well nigh spent. We will, therefore, adjourn the debate. Be it as you think proper, replied Maternus, and if, in what I have said, you find any thing not sufficiently clear, we will adjust those matters in some future conference. Hereupon he rose from his seat, and embracing Aper, I am afraid, he said, that it will fare hardly with you, my good friend. I shall cite you to answer before the poets, and Messala will arraign you at the bar of the antiquarians. And I, replied Aper, shall make reprisals on you both before the school professors and the rhetoricians. This occasioned some mirth and raillery. We laughed, and parted in good humour.

THE END.

NOTES

ON

THE LIFE

OF

AGRICOLA.

NOTES

ON THE

LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

This work is supposed by the commentators to have been written before the Treatise on the Manners of the Germans, in the third consulship of the emperor Nerva, and the second of Verginius Rufus, in the year of Rome 850, and of the Christian æra 97. Brotier accedes to this opinion; but the reason, which he assigns, does not seem to be satisfactory. He observes that Tacitus, in the third section, mentions the emperor Nerva; but as he does not call him *Divus* Nerva, the deified Nerva, the learned commentator infers that Nerva was still living. This reasoning might have some weight, if we did not read, in section xliv, that it was the ardent wish of Agricola, that he might live to behold Trajan in the imperial seat. If Nerva was then alive, to wish to see another in his room would have been an awkward compliment to the reigning prince. It is, perhaps, for this reason, that Lipsius thinks this very elegant tract was written at the same time with the Manners of the Germans, in the beginning of the emperor Trajan. The question is not very material, since conjecture alone must decide it. The piece itself is admitted to be a masterpiece in the kind. Tacitus was son-in-law to Agricola; and while filial piety breathes through his work, he never departs from the integrity of his own character. He has left an historical monument highly interesting to every Briton, who wishes to know the manners of his ancestors, and the spirit of liberty that from the earliest time distinguished the natives of Britain. "Agricola," as Hume observes, "was the general, who finally established the dominion of the

" Romans in this island. He governed it in the reigns of Ves-
" pasian, Titus, and Domitian. He carried his victorious arms
" northward; defeated the Britons in every encounter, pierced in-
" to the forests and the mountains of Caledonia, reduced every
" state to subjection in the southern parts of the island, and cha-
" sed before him all the men of fiercer and more intractable
" spirits, who deemed war and death itself less intolerable than
" servitude under the victors. He defeated them in a decisive
" action, which they fought under Galgacus; and having fixed a
" chain of garrisons between the friths of Clyde and Forth, he cut
" off the ruder and more barren parts of the island, and secured
" the Roman province from the incursions of the barbarous in-
" habitants. During these military enterprises, he neglected not
" the arts of peace. He introduced laws and civility among the
" Britons; taught them to desire and raise all the conveniencies
" of life; reconciled them to the Roman language and manners;
" instructed them in letters and science; and employed every ex-
" pedient to render those chains, which he had forged, both easy
" and agreeable to them." Hume's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 9. In this pas-
sage Mr. Hume has given a summary of the Life of Agricola. It
is extended by Tacitus in a style more open than the didactic
form of the Essay on the German Manners required, but still with
the precision, both in sentiment and diction, peculiar to the au-
thor. In rich but subdued colours he gives a striking picture of
Agricola, leaving to posterity a portion of history, which it would
be in vain to seek in the dry gazette-style of Suetonius, or in the
page of any writer of that period.

Section I.

(*a*) Injustice to living merit proceeds from a variety of causes; from inattention, ignorance, or envy. We praise the past and neglect the present. *Vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi*, says Tacitus, *Annals*, b. ii. s. 88. Velleius Paterculus makes the same remark, and adds the reason. We envy the living, and venerate departed merit; by the former we think ourselves overwhelmed; we edify by the latter. *Præsentia invidia, præterita veneratione prosequimur; et his nos obrui, illis*

instrui credimus. Lib. ii. s. 92. Before either Tacitus or Paterculus, Horace had expressed the same sentiment:

> Virtutem incolumem odimus,
> Sublatem ex oculis quærimus invidi.
>
> Lib. iii. ode 24.

> Though living virtue we despise,
> When dead, we praise it to the skies.

(*b*) Cornelius Nepos tells us that *Chabrias*, the Athenian general, when recalled by the violence of the people, did not choose to stay long in the sight of his fellow citizens, because envy, the common vice of all free and great cities, would be sure to behold rising merit with a malignant eye. *Est enim hoc commune vitium in magnis liberisque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriæ comes sit, et libenter de his detrahant, quos eminere videant altius.* Corn. Nep. *in Chabriâ*, s. iii.

(*c*) Cicero has left a beautiful epistle to his friend Lucceius, earnestly urging him to interweave with his history of Roman affairs a full account of Cicero's consulship, and the various turns of fortune which he met with in consequence of a firm and upright administration. This request, he says, an awkward bashfulness deterred him from making in person: but, separated as they then were, he could speak with confidence; for a letter does not blush. *Coram me tecum eadem hæc agere sæpe conantem deterruit pudor quidam pænè subrusticus; quæ nunc exproman absens audacius: epistola enim non erubescit.* He proceeds to acknowledge his ambition to live in history; he avows his hopes of obtaining from the remembrance of after-ages a glorious immortality, and even the pleasure of enjoying his posthumous fame in his own lifetime. If his friend should not comply with his wishes, he threatens to undertake the work himself, after the example of many illustrious men, who have written their own history. He is, however, aware that such a performance may be liable to many objections. When a praise-worthy action occurs, the author must

speak of himself with reserve and modesty; and, where there happens to be room for censure, he may glide over the passage, or varnish it with art, or pass it by in silence. For this reason, the life of an eminent citizen, written by himself, is not entitled to much credit, and, by consequence, the practice has fallen into disrepute. No man, the critics observe, should be the trumpeter of his own fame. The very public cryers, who declare the victors in the gymnastic games, are more modest: they crown the conquerors and proclaim their names with an audible voice; but when, in their turn, they have gained a victory, they call other cryers to their assistance, that they themselves may not be the publishers of their own fame. *Quod si a te non impetro, hoc est, si qua res te impedierit; cogar fortasse facere, quod non-nulli sæpe reprehendunt: scribam ipse de me, multorum tamen exemplo, et clarorum virorum. Sed, quod te non fugit, hæc sunt in hoc genere vitia; et verecundius ipsi de sese scribant necesse est, si quid est laudandum; et prætereant, si quid forte reprehendendum est. Accedit etiam ut minor sit fides, minor auctoritas; multi denique reprehendant, et dicant verecundiores esse præcones ludorum gymnicorum, qui, cum cæteris coronas imposuerint victoribus, eorumque nomina magnâ voce pronuntiârint, cum ipsi antè ludorum missionem coronâ donentur, alium præconem adhibeant, ne suâ voce ipsi se victores esse prædicent.* CICERO AD FAMILIARES, lib. v. epist. 12.

(*d*) The two persons mentioned in this place, as having written memoirs of their own lives, were men of superior eminence, distinguished as well by their virtues as their abilities. Rutilius was consul A. U. C. 649, before the Christian æra 105. He had served in the wars in Numidia; and in the year of Rome 657, when Mucius Scævola was appointed proconsular governor of Asia Minor, he was chosen by that virtuous citizen in the rank of lieutenant governor. In the course of their administration, they acquired the love and admiration of the province, by a constant exercise of those virtues, which had been the practice, it may be said the fashion, of the citizens of Rome, but in that period began to decline, yet not so rapidly as to give to distinguished merit the

name of singularity. The administration of Scævola was pronounced by the senate a model for the conduct of all future governors. He had completed a thorough reform in the mode of collecting the revenues of the province, and thereby gave umbrage to the Roman knights, who were at that time the managers of all the tributes and imposts paid by foreign nations. From the same order of men commissioners were chosen to hear and determine all complaints for peculation. A charge of that kind could not with any colour be brought against so revered a character as that of Mucius Scævola; but the men, who had been used to profit by extortion and rapine, were determined to wreak their malice on Rutilius, who had co-operated with the proconsul in all his wisest regulations. They resented the good he had done to others as an injury to themselves. An accusation was framed; and witnesses were suborned. The cause was heard by the Roman knights; and no wonder that before such a tribunal innocence fell a sacrifice. In the number of commissioners who sat in judgment, there was a Roman knight, of the name of Apicius, at that time a famous epicure, supposed to be of the same family with the second of the name, who distinguished himself by his gluttony in the reign of Tiberius. To avoid a sentence of condemnation, Rutilius went into voluntary exile. This did not appease the resentment of the commissioners. They proceeded to judgment, and imposed a fine that greatly exceeded the whole fortune of their devoted victim. Rutilius withdrew to the very province which he was said to have plundered, and there lived in the highest credit, respected by all ranks of men, and honoured by the princes in alliance with Rome. The remainder of his life was a triumph over his enemies. Sylla granted him liberty to return to Rome, but he refused to accept that act of grace. At the breaking out of the civil wars, his friends suggested to him, that in the convulsions of the state, it was probable, that the various exiles would be restored to their country. "No," said Rutilius, "I will never return: I had rather leave my "country to blush for the injustice which I have suffered, than "be an eye-witness of the horrors of war, and the miseries of a "distracted people." During his exile he revised and published

the speeches which he had made on different occasions at Rome. He also wrote the history of the Numantian wars, and the memoirs of his own life, to which Tacitus has alluded. Velleius Paterculus calls Rutilius the best man, not only of his own time, but of any age. He exerted himself, says the same historian, in opposition to Tiberius Gracchus, to support the cause of the senate: and yet that very body became his open enemies. He was prosecuted for illegal exactions in the province of Asia, and condemned, to the great grief of the city of Rome. *Quippe eam potestatem nacti equites Gracchanis legibus, cum in multos clarissimos, atque innocentissimos viros sævissent, tum Publium Rutilium, virum non sæculi sui, sed omnis ævi optimum, interrogatum lege repetundarum, maximo cum gemitu civitatis, damnaverant. In iis ipsis, quæ pro senatu moliebatur, senatum habuit adversarium.* See Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. s. 13. Cicero, *De Claris Orat.* s. 115.

Æmilius Scaurus is another instance of that conscious integrity with which an upright citizen could venture to talk of himself. He was consul A. U. C. 639, before the Christian æra 85. He was descended from a patrician family; but, having but a moderate fortune, he owed his elevation to his talents. He bore for many years the honourable title of PRINCE OF THE SENATE; a title which added nothing to his power, but gave him great weight and authority, implying superior merit, and pre-eminence in virtue. Cicero says of him and Rutilius, that, though exercised in the practice of the forum, neither of them could be ranked in the first class of orators. They were not deficient in abilities, but eloquence was not their talent. *Neuter summi oratoris habuit laudem et uterque in multis causis versatus erat. Quamquam iis quidem non omnino ingenium, sed oratorium ingenium defuit.* Of Scaurus in particular, Cicero adds, that in his speeches there was the wisdom of a statesman, and the commanding gravity of a virtuous citizen; the more persuasive, as he delivered himself with the air of a man, who was giving his testimony, not with the art of an advocate pleading a cause. His mode of oratory was not calculated for the meridian of the forum, but in debate was wonderfully graceful in a man, who was prince of the senate. He spoke

with prudence, and his character gave him weight and authority. *In Scauri oratione, sapientis hominis et recti gravitas summa, et naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas, non ut causam, sed ut testimonium dicere putares. Hoc dicendi genus, ad patrocinia mediocriter aptum videbatur: ad senatoriam vero sententiam, cujus erat* ILLE PRINCEPS, *vel maximè; significabat enim non prudentiam solum, sed, quod maximè rem continebat, fidem. De Claris Orat.* s. cxi. and cxii. The character of Scaurus drawn by Sallust, gives a different idea of that eminent citizen. According to the historian, he preserved the exterior decencies, the surface of virtue, disguising his passions, and artfully concealing his vices; by his birth illustrious, enterprising, factious, fond of power, of riches, and the honours of the state. *Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum; cæterum vitia sua callidè occultans. Bell. Jugurth.* Delph. edit. p. 73. But the veracity of Sallust is sometimes problematical. His own morals were not the best. He was spiteful to Cicero; he preferred Cæsar to Cato, and was not always listed on the side of virtue. The testimony of two such men as Cicero and Tacitus may fairly be allowed to preponderate against a writer whose integrity is by no means established. Valerius Maximus relates a fact that does honour to the memory of Scaurus: being accused by one Varius of having received a bribe from Mithridates to betray the interest of the commonwealth, he said in his defence; " I appeal to the citizens of Rome, a great majority of whom could not be witnesses of the conduct I pursued, and the honours I acquired; and I will dare shortly to state my case: Varius, a native of Spain, charges Æmilius Scaurus with venality, and says that for a royal bribe he was a traitor to his country; Æmilius Scaurus denies the charge, and declares aloud that such a crime is foreign to his heart. Which of us deserves to be believed?" The magnanimity of the answer excited the general admiration; shouts and acclamations followed, and to appease the people, the prosecutor desisted from his wild attempt. *Qui cum pro rostris accusaretur, quod a rege Mithridate ob rempublicam prodendam pecuniam accepisset, causam suam ita egit: Audebo vos, quorum major pars honoribus et actis meis inter-*

esse non potuit, interrogare: Varius Sucronensis Æmilium Scaurum regiâ mercede corruptum imperium populi Romani prodidisse ait: Æmilius Scaurus huic se affinem esse culpæ negat. Utri creditis? Cujus dicti admiratione populus commotus Varium ab illâ dementissimâ actione pertinaci clamore depulit. Val. Max. *De Fidu-ciâ sui*, lib. iii. cap. 7. Scaurus had a son, who degenerated to such a degree of profligacy from his father, that Pliny the elder is in doubt, which was the greatest evil, the proscriptions of Sylla, or the ædileship of Marcus Scaurus. *Cujus nescio an ædilitas maxi-mè prostraverit mores civiles, majusque sit Syllæ malum tanta privigni potentia quam proscriptio tot millium.* Pliny, lib. xxxvi. s. 24. In the passage already cited from Cicero De Claris Oratoribus, we are told that there was still extant a collection of orations by Æmilius Scaurus, and his own life in three books, addressed to his friend Lucius Fufidius; a work of value, which nobody read, while the Cyropædia, or Institution of Cyrus, was in every body's hands: a work, it must be allowed, of great merit, but, excellent as it is, neither so interesting to the Romans, nor superior to the Memoirs of Scaurus. *Hujus et orationes sunt, et tres ad Lucium Fufidium libri scripti de vitâ ipsius actâ, sane utiles, quos nemo legit. At Cyri vitam et disciplinam legunt, præclaram illam quidem, sed neque tam rebus nostris aptam, nec tamen Scauri laudibus anteponendam. De Claris Orat.* s. 112.

(*e*) It has been already mentioned, that Agricola commanded in Britain in the time of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. The reign of the last is the evil period intended by Tacitus: see a description of it, *Hist.* b. i. s. 2.

Section II.

(*a*) Arulenus Rusticus was tribune of the people A. U. C. 819. A. D. 66. Being then a young man of spirit, he wished to distinguish himself by an early display of those principles of honour, which marked his conduct through the remainder of his life. He intended by his tribunitian authority to prevent a decree against Paetus Thrasea. See *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 26. Being prætor, during

the short reign of Vitellius, he was sent at the head of an embassy to treat of terms of accommodation with the generals of Vespasian's army, then at the gates of Rome; but neither the rank of ambassador, nor the character of the man, could protect him from the outrages committed by the soldiers. Arulenus Rusticus was wounded in the fray, and his lictor was murdered. *History*, b. iii. s. 80. Pliny the younger makes honourable mention of Arulenus Rusticus: he says to his friend, You well know how I loved and honoured that excellent man. You know by what encouragements he cherished my youth, and what praises he bestowed upon me at that time, to make me afterwards capable of deserving them. *Scis enim quantopere summum illum virum nupserim dilexerimque; quibus ille adolescentiam meam exhortationibus foverit, quibus etiam laudibus, ut laudandus viderer, effecerit.* Lib. i. ep. 14. It was the misfortune of this eminent citizen to be in favour at the court of Domitian; but between the esteem of a tyrant and his jealousy the partition is thin, and hatred soon succeeds. The mean compliances of a courtier were foreign to the temper of a man nourished in the stoic school, and animated by the tenets of that proud philosophy. He wrote the life of his friend Pætus Thrasea, and for that offence was condemned to die. Regulus, a man who followed the detestable trade of an informer, undertook the management of the prosecution. Pliny, in a letter to one of his friends, says, Did you ever see a more abject wretch than Regulus has appeared, since the death of Domitian, during whose reign his conduct was no less infamous, though more concealed than under Nero? He not only promoted the prosecution against Arulenus Rusticus, but exulted in his death; insomuch that he actually recited and published a libel upon his memory, wherein he styles him the *ape of the stoics;* adding that he was stigmatized by the wound he received in the cause of Vitellius. *Vidistine quemquam Marco Regulo timidiorem humiliioremque post Domitiani mortem, sub quo non minora flagitia commiserat, quam sub Nerone, sed tectiora? Rustici Aruleni periculum foverat, exultaverat morte, adeo ut librum recitaret publicaretque, in quo Rusticum insectatur, atque etiam* STOICORUM SIMIAM *appellat. Adjicit Vi-*

telliană cicatrice stigmosum. Agnoscis eloquentiam Reguli! Lib. i. ep. 5. The stigma of the *Vitellian scar*, to which Regulus alluded, was the effect of the wound received by Arulenus Rusticus in the camp of Vespasian's general. Domitian considered him as a sullen republican, the more dangerous as he professed the haughty doctrine of the stoic sect. Not content with taking away his life, he declared open war against philosophy in general, and banished the professors of every denomination out of Italy. Epictetus was in the number. Every liberal art was extinguished, and the manners went to ruin.

Pætus Thrasea, for whose panegyric Arulenus Rusticus suffered death, was a native of Padua. He married the daughter of Cæcina Pætus, by the celebrated Arria, who perished with her husband in the reign of Claudius, and left a splendid proof of conjugal fidelity and heroic fortitude. She not only encouraged her husband to dispatch himself, but set him the example, stabbing herself first, and then presenting the dagger to him, with these words: "Pætus, it gives no pain." Martial has four beautiful lines on the subject.

Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria Pæto,
Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis;
Si qua fides, vulnus, quod feci, non dolet, inquit,
Sed quod tu facies, hoc mihi, Pæte, dolet.

MARTIAL, Lib. i. epig. 14.

When the chaste Arria drew the reeking sword
From her own breast, and gave it to her lord;
The wound, she said, believe me, I despise;
I feel that only by which Pætus dies.

Their son-in-law, Pætus Thrasea, was of the stoic school; in sentiment and the whole tenour of his conduct wound up to the highest pitch of that boasted sect. He had the courage to be a virtuous citizen under the tyranny of Nero. Tacitus has made honourable mention of him in sundry places; *Annals*, b. xii. s. 49. b. xiv. s. 12 and 48. Nero at length was determined to cut him off, and in his person to destroy virtue itself. A prosecutor was, accordingly, found; all his praise-worthy actions were summed up,

and by the court logic of the times, stated as so many crimes. It was urged against him, that when Nero's letter, giving an account of the death of Agrippina, was read in the senate, Thrasea rose from his seat, and left the house; that he seldom attended the juvenile sports, instituted by the emperor; when the fathers were on the point of condemning a poet to death for a copy of verses, he was the author of a milder sentence; and finally, that he did not assist at the funeral of Poppæa, a new divinity, whom Nero sent to the gods by a kick on the belly. *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 21. He was allowed to choose his own mode of death. Arria, his wife, worthy of her mother of the same name, wanted to share the fate of her husband, but was dissuaded by his advice. Thrasea died with the tranquillity of a philosopher. See the account, *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 34 and 35, and also the *Appendix* to b. xvi. By his wife, Arria, he left a daughter, named FANNIA, who was married to his friend, Helvidius Priscus. Pliny the younger has placed her character in the most amiable light. He describes her emaciated by a fit of illness, in a total decay, with nothing but her spirits to support her, and a vigour of mind worthy of the wife of Helvidius, and the daughter of Thrasea. He adds, She will be, after her decease, a model for all wives, and, perhaps, worthy to be deemed an example of fortitude by men. The whole letter is in a strain of tender affection, and has all the beauties of style and sentiment that distinguish that elegant author. B. vii. ep. 19.

(*b*) Senecio was a native of Spain, born in the province of Bœtica, where he served the office of quæstor in the reign of Domitian, and never aspired to any higher honour. Not choosing to be a candidate for the magistracy, he was considered as an obstinate republican, hostile to the established government, and a friend to innovation. He undertook the prosecution of Bæbius Massa, who was charged with extortion during his government in Spain. By the appointment of the senate, he had the younger Pliny for his coadjutor in that business. Massa was convicted, and his effects sequestered. Pliny relates the fact, in a letter to his friend Tacitus; and being persuaded that the historical works

of such a writer would be immortal, he begs to have a niche in that temple of fame. If, says he, we are solicitous to have our pictures drawn by the best artist, ought we not to desire that our conduct may be described by the ablest historian? *Auguror* (*nec me fallit augurium*) *historias tuas immortales futuras, quo magis illis* (*ingenuè fatebor*) *inseri cupio. Nam si esse nobis curæ solet, ut facies nostra ab optimo quoque artifice exprimatur, nonne debemus optare, ut operibus nostris similis tui scriptor prædicatorque contingat?* Lib. vii. ep. 33. Tacitus was, probably, writing the history of Domitian, in whose reign Bæbius Massa was condemned. Pliny, as well as Cicero, wished to live in history. Montaigne condemns them both, as instances of immoderate ambition; but let it be remarked, says Melmoth, that the ambition of Pliny will appear far more reasonable than that of Cicero. The latter does not scruple to press his friend, Lucceius, to transgress the rules of history, and to break the bounds of truth in his favour. *Te plane, etiam atque etiam rogo ut et ornes ea vehementius quam fortasse sentis, et leges historiæ negligas, amorique nostro pluscul um etiam quam concedit veritas largiaris:* whereas Pliny, with a nobler spirit, expressly declares, that he does not desire Tacitus should heighten the facts, for actions of real worth need only be set in their true light. *Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, et honeste factis veritas sufficit.* See Cicero to Lucceius, lib. v. ep. 12; and see Pliny to Tacitus, lib. vii. ep. 33. It does not appear that Pliny incurred any danger for the part he acted against Bæbius Massa; but Senecio, who was the first mover in that business, provoked a number of enemies. He had written the life of Helvidius, and that work gave him the finishing blow. The praise bestowed upon that excellent man inflamed the rage of Domitian. Mettius Carus, a notorious prosecutor of the best men in Rome, stood forth as the accuser of Senecio, who acknowledged himself the author of the book, but urged, in his defence, that he wrote it at the desire of Fannia, the widow of Helvidius. Pliny informs us that Fannia was cited to appear before the senate. The prosecutor, in a tone of menace, asked her, *Did you make such a request?* I DID. *Did you supply him with materials?* I DID SUPPLY HIM. *Was it with*

the knowledge of your mother, Arria? IT WAS NOT. Throughout the whole of her examination, not a word betrayed the smallest symptom of fear. She had the courage to preserve a copy of the very book, which the senate, overawed by the tyranny of the times, had ordered to be suppressed; and taking care to preserve the history of her husband, she carried with her the cause of her exile. *Nam cum Senecio reus esset, quod de vitâ Helvidii libros composuisset, rogatumque se a Fannia in defensione dixisset, quærente minaciter Mettio Caro* AN ROGASSET? *respondit,* ROGAVI. *An commentarios scripturo dedisset?* DEDI. *An sciente matre?* NESCIENTE. *Postremo nullam vocem cedentem periculo emisit. Quin etiam illos ipsos libros, quamquam ex necessitate et metu temporum abolitos senatus consulto, servavit, habuit, tulitque in exilium exilii causam.* Lib. vii. epist. 19. This was the third time of her going into exile. She had accompanied her husband twice in the same disgrace, under Nero, and under Vespasian. Her mother, Arria, Thrasea's widow, was banished for a like cause; for the history of Helvidius, written, as already mentioned, by Arulenus Rusticus. During these prosecutions, the senators were held besieged by a party of armed soldiers; they did not dare to utter a sentiment, or even to groan under the tyranny of the times; they were truly, as Pliny describes them, a timid and speechless assembly, where to speak your mind was dangerous; and to declare what you did not think, was the worst state of servitude. *Prospeximus curiam; sed curiam* TREPIDAM *et* ELINGUEM, *cum dicere quod velles, periculosum; quod nolles, miserum esset.* See b. viii. ep. 14. Senecio, for his praise of Helvidius, was found guilty, and, to glut the cruelty of Domitian, adjudged to death. His work was burnt by the public executioners. For more of Bæbius Massa, and Mettius Carus, see this Tract, s. 45.

Helvidius Priscus, the subject of Senecio's panegyric, was born at Tarracina, a municipal town in Italy. He was confirmed in the doctrines of the stoic school by his father-in-law, Pætus Thrasea. His character, drawn by the masterly hand of Tacitus, may be seen, *Hist.* b. iv. s. 5. He acted, at all times, the part of a firm, a virtuous, and independent senator. When

Thrasea was doomed to death by Nero, Helvidius was involved in the ruin of his father-in-law, and sent into banishment. See *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 35. After the death of Nero, he returned to Rome, and in the senate delivered a vehement speech against Eprius Marcellus, the chief instrument in the destruction of Thrasea. *Hist.* b. iv. s. 43. Being advanced to the dignity of prætor, he assisted at the laying of the first stone of the capitol which was then to be rebuilt, A. U. C. 823, of the Christian æra 70. *Hist.* b. iv. s. 53 and 54. In the reign of Vespasian he was considered as a determined republican, and as such, charged by his enemies with a design to restore the old constitution. Dio Cassius, who often betrays a secret rancour towards eminent characters, represents Helvidius as a violent partisan, adverse to the established government, a declaimer in praise of the old democracy, and often launching out into fierce invectives against Vespasian. Had this picture been copied from the life, it is not probable that two such men as Tacitus and Pliny would have mentioned him in terms of respect little short of veneration. It is true, that he frequently stood in opposition even to Vespasian; another Cato against Cæsar. The emperor was at length so far irritated as to forbid him the senate. Do you mean, said Helvidius, to exclude me for ever? No, replied Vespasian; attend there, if you will, but you must be a silent senator. Then, said Helvidius, you must not call upon me for my opinion; if I am called upon, I shall deliver it with the freedom of an honest man. This discourse so enraged Vespasian, that, forgetting himself, and his character, he threatened Helvidius with death. The intrepid stoic returned the following answer: "I did not say, that I am "immortal: you may, if you will, put me to death: in so doing "you will act YOUR part; and, in dying without fear or trem- "bling, I shall act MINE." This is recorded by Arrian, in his Memoirs of Epicurus, as an answer worthy of a Roman, and a disciple of the stoic school. His conduct, from the opening of Vespasian's reign, was such as gave umbrage to the court. When all ranks of men went forth to meet the emperor on his

arrival in Italy, Helvidius did not salute him by the name of Cæsar, but treated him as if he had been no more than a private man. In the edicts which he issued in his office of prætor, he made no mention of the emperor. Suetonius, *Life of Vesp.* s. 15. These and other circumstances conspired against him. Mucianus, it is reasonable to suppose, inflamed the indignation of the emperor, and, at length, prevailed upon him to abandon Helvidius to the judgment of the senate. He was sent into exile, and soon after followed by an order for his execution. Vespasian, according to Suetonius, dispatched messengers to countermand the sentence; but it was either too late, or the emperor was imposed upon by a false account that the blow was already struck. In this manner Helvidius fell a victim. He left a daughter by Fannia, of whom nothing is known: he also left a son, the issue of his first marriage, for a further account of whom, see this Tract, s. xlv. The Roman story, says Lord Orrery (*Remarks on Pliny*, b. vii. ep. 19), can not produce another instance of so illustrious a family, distinguished by a succession equally bright in heroes and heroines, married among themselves, and more closely allied by their virtues than by their marriages.

List of the Family.

Cæcina Pætus married the first Arria.

Thrasea Pætus married their daughter, the second Arria.

Helvidius Priscus married Fannia, the daughter of the second Arria.

Helvidius the younger (son of Helvidius Priscus by his first wife) married Anteia, the daughter of Publius Anteius, who, from his attachment to Agrippina, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of Nero. See *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 14.

Thus stands the genealogy of this distinguished house.

(*c*) The custom of destroying books is of ancient date, and was chiefly exercised under despotic governments. Before the invention of printing, there was no way of multiplying copies but by the industry of transcribers, and, at that time, the vengeance of

men in power might succeed. At present the common hangman may burn one or more copies of a work deservedly condemned to the flames; but the friends of sedition will take care to be provided with a number, and even the curious will give them a place in their cabinets. It has been mentioned in the last note, that Fannia, the widow of Helvidius, carried the memoirs of her husband into exile; and yet those monuments of genius, as Tacitus calls them, have not come down to posterity. It must be admitted, that, where the people live under a constitution so well mixed and balanced, that liberty and property are fully secured, those who are intrusted with the administration are bound by their duty to the public, to put the laws in force, in order to crush the seeds of treason and rebellion. This principle prevailed in the best days of the Roman republic; and accordingly we read in Livy, that, in the second Punic war, when innovations in the religious rites of the Romans were introduced by tumultuous assemblies in the city of Rome, the ædiles and triumviri were sharply accused by the senate, for not preventing such abuses and disorderly meetings. *Incusati graviter ab senatu ædiles triumvirique capitales, quod non prohiberent.* The same writer adds, that, the mischief being found too strong for the ordinary magistrates, the prætor of the city, to whom the business was committed by the fathers, issued his edict, whereby all persons who had in their possession any books, that contained either predictions, forms of prayer, or religious ceremonies, were enjoined to deliver up the same before the next ensuing calends of April. *Ubi potentius jam esse id malum apparuit, quam ut minores per magistratus sedaretur, Marco Atilio, prætori urbis, negotium ab senatu datum est, ut his religionibus populum liberaret. Is et in conscione senatus-consultum recitavit, et edixit, ut quicumque libros vaticinos, precationemve, aut artem sacrificandi conscriptam haberet, eos libros omnes ad se ante calendas Apriles deferret.* Livy, lib. xxv. s. 1. Under the emperors, when public liberty was extinguished, every thing was turned into crime of violated majesty. Cremutius Cordus had praised Brutus in his annals, and called Cassius *the last true Roman.* For this he was obliged to finish his days by a total absti-

nence from food, and his work was ordered to be burnt by the ædiles. But they remained, says Tacitus, in private hands, and were circulated notwithstanding the prohibition. The historian adds, that nothing so clearly shows the stupidity of the men, who fancy, that by an act of arbitrary power they can prevent the knowledge of after times. Genius gains strength and authority from persecution; and the foreign despots, who have had recourse to the same violent measures, have only succeeded to aggravate their own disgrace, and raise the glory of the writer. *Annals*, b. iv. s. 35. We read in Seneca, that this way of punishing individuals, when nothing in their writings affected the public, was introduced by Augustus in the case of Labienus, a man of genius and an eminent orator. His fame was great, and the applause of the public was rather extorted, than voluntarily given. No man objected to his character, who did not pay a tribute to his talents. Against this man a new punishment was invented; by the contrivance of his enemies all his books were burnt by the public executioner. Seneca concludes his account of this proceeding with a fine reflection. The policy, he says, of punishing men for their literary merit was altogether new. Happily for the good of mankind, this species of tyranny was not devised before the days of Cicero. What would have been the consequence, if the triumvirate had been able to proscribe the genius of that consummate orator? The gods, in their just dispensations, took care that this method of crushing the powers of the mind, by illegal oppression, should begin at the point of time when all genius ceased to exist. *Res nova et insueta, supplicia de ingeniis sumi. Quid enim futurum fuit, si ingenium Ciceronis triumviris libuisset proscribere? Dii melius, quod eo seculo ista ingeniorum supplicia cœperunt, quo et ingenia desierunt.* Seneca, *Controv.* lib. v. *in præfatione.* Lord Bacon has a beautiful thought on this subject. *The punishing of wits enhances their authority; and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth, that flies up in the face of those who seek to tread it out.* The reflection is, certainly, just; but let it not encourage the schismatics, the seditious incendiaries, and the clubs instituted for the purposes of anarchy and wild commo-

tion. It is TRUTH, and TRUTH only, that *flies up in the face* of its oppressors. When the sons of faction tell us, *that men in civil society are born equal;* that in this country *we have no constitution;* that the *succession to the crown can not be limited by king, lords, and commons;* and that the whole body of the people, who, on every demise of the crown, have unequivocally declared their concurrence, *have no power to consent to such a law;* when the abettors of innovation advance these, and other propositions, equally wild and frantic, let them remember, that all good men throughout the nation have trod their doctrines under foot, and that disappointment and contempt must be their portion.

> Hot, envious, noisy, proud, the scribbling fry
> Burn, hiss, and bounce, waste paper, stink, and die.

(*d*) Pliny describes the senate in a state of stupefaction, forgetting almost every thing, the liberal arts, and the rules and privileges of their own order. In such times what useful knowledge could be acquired? The senate was convened to do nothing, or to be plunged in guilt and cruelty. They were either a laughing-stock, or the instruments of the vilest tyranny. The fathers were involved in the calamities of the times; the citizens of Rome groaned under oppression during a number of years; and, in that dreadful period, their faculties were debased, and the vigour of their minds utterly extinguished. *Quid tunc discipotuit? quid didicisse juvit? cum senatus aut ad otium, aut ad summum nefas vocaretur; et modo ludibrio, modo dolori retentus, nunquam seria, tristia sæpe censeret. Eadem mala jam senatores, jam participes malorum, multos per annos vidimus tulimusque, quibus ingenia nostra, in posterum quoque hebetata, fracta, contusa sunt.* Pliny, lib. viii. ep. 14. But amidst all this tame resignation, a sense of injuries, however suppressed, was rankling in every breast. Men could not forget the massacre of so many citizens of consular rank, and the banishment of the most illustrious women in Rome. See section xlv. and note (*a*). They groaned under the yoke of bondage, and yet felt, in secret, that liberty was the natural element of a Roman.

Section III.

(*a*) On the death of Domitian, that emperor's acts were rescinded, and Nerva began his reign, A. U. C. 849; he adopted Trajan in October or November, 850, and died on or about the 21st January, 851. Trajan, from that time, was called Nerva Trajanus. As Nerva is not called Divus, that is, the Deified Nerva, Lipsius and most of the commentators have inferred that Nerva was still alive. But how Trajan, in that short time between his adoption and the commencement of his reign, could be said to be every day increasing the public happiness, is not easy to comprehend. It seems more probable that he was emperor of Rome when Tacitus wrote the Life of Agricola, and the compliment paid to him in section xlv. implies that he was then the reigning prince. The words are, *In hac beatissimâ sæculi luce principem Trajanum videre;* in this æra of public felicity to see Trajan on the imperial seat. That wish of Agricola would, surely, not have been so openly expressed during the life of another prince. However the fact may be, it is certain that Nerva crowded into his short reign a number of virtues, which were imitated by Trajan, Hadrian, and both the Antonines; a period of ninety years, which may be truly called the golden age of the empire.

(*b*) The public security, securitas publica, was an inscription on the medals of the times. Though, in the very outset of his reign, Nerva showed himself disposed to favour civil liberty, yet Pliny gives an extraordinary picture of Rome in that very period. The servitude of former times, he says, left the citizens in a total ignorance of all liberal arts, and a gross oblivion of the senatorian laws and privileges. For who is willing to learn what is of no kind of use? It is difficult to retain what you acquire, without constant exercise. The return of liberty found us rude and ill-instructed; and yet, charmed with the novelty of public freedom, we are forced to resolve before we understand. *Priorum temporum servitus, ut aliarum optimarum artium, sic etiam juris senatorii oblivionem quamdam et ignorantiam induxit. Quotus enim quisque tam patiens, ut velit discere quod in usu non sit habiturus? Adde,*

quod difficile est tenere, quæ acceperis, nisi exerceas. Itaque reducta libertas rudes nos et imperitos deprehendit, cujus dulcedine accensi, cogimur quædam facere, antequam nosse. Pliny, lib. viii. ep. 14. This description applies directly to a neighbouring nation. They were intoxicated with the acquisition of liberty, but did not understand the nature of a free constitution. They were worse than the blind mentioned by Tacitus, and after him by Montesquieu: they built CHALCEDON, while they had BYZANTIUM in their view. The Romans, as we see in Pliny's account, proceeded in a different manner: they employed themselves in the study of their ancient laws, in order to settle a regular government, and their endeavours were seconded by the virtues of Nerva Trajan.

(*c*) Fifteen years was the period of Domitian's reign. Tacitus speaks of it with horror, and promises to review the tyranny and abject slavery of those dismal times. It is to be regretted, that such a savage as Domitian has escaped from the pen of Tacitus. Had his work come down to us, we should have seen the tyrant stretched on the rack of history. The memorial of happiness under Nerva and Trajan, which he also promised, was either never finished, or is now unfortunately lost.

SECTION IV.

(*a*) Forojulium was a colony in Narbonne Gaul, now called FREJUS, or FREJULES, situated at the mouth of the river AGENS, on the Mediterranean, about forty miles north-east of Toulon. It was originally a place of considerable magnificence, as appears in a poem written by MICHAEL HOSPITAL, chancellor of France; in which, after mentioning Forojulium, then reduced to a small city, he describes the ruins of a pompous theatre, the grand arches, the public baths, and the aqueducts. He adds, that the structure at the port was laid in ruins, and where there was formerly a port, it is now a dry shore, with adjacent gardens.

> Inde Forum Julii, parvam nunc venimus urbem,
> Apparent veteris vestigia magna theatri;

Ingentes arcus, et thermæ, et ductus aquarum;
Apparet moles antiqui diruta portus;
Atque ubi portus erat, siccum nunc littus, et horti.
Delphin Edition of TACITUS, vol. iv. p. 176.

(*b*) The management of all the foreign revenues was in the hands of the Roman knights. Augustus left the appointment of some of the provinces to the discretion of the senate, and reserved others for his own nomination. The last were called *procuratores Cæsaris*, *imperial procurators*, and were either created Roman knights by virtue of their employment, or considered as of equal dignity. The money collected by the officers of the senate was paid into the public treasury (*Ærarium*), and that of the imperial procurators into the FISCUS, or exchequer of the prince. The rapacity of these men may be reckoned among the causes that finally wrought the downfal of the empire. See *Annals*, b. xii. s. 60.

(*c*) Seneca has given an admirable character of Agricola's father. If, says he, we need the example of a great and exalted mind, let us imitate Julius Græcinus, that excellent man, whom Caius Cæsar (Caligula) put to death for no other reason, than because he had more virtue than a tyrant could endure. *Si exemplo magni animi opus est, utamur Græcini Julii, viri egregii, quem Caius Cæsar occidit, ob hoc unum, quod melior vir esset, quam esse quemquam tyranno expediret.* De Beneficiis, lib. ii. s. 21. He wrote books of husbandry, and his delight in agriculture is supposed to have given the name of Agricola to his son.

(*d*) Marcus Silanus was highly respected, not only for his birth and rank, but also for his eminent virtues. He had the misfortune of being father-in-law to Caligula. He incurred the hatred of that tyrant by his honest counsels. He enjoyed the privilege of being the first, whose opinion was asked by the consul in the senate: but to deprive him of that honour, Caligula ordered, that, from that time, all of consular dignity should vote according to their seniority. He endeavoured to prevail on Julius Græcinus (mentioned in the last note) to undertake an accusation against

Silanus, but not succeeding, he at length took away his life on a frivolous pretence. Though the weather was rough, the tyrant chose to make a little voyage by sea. Silanus, with whom that element did not agree, excused himself from being of the party. This was construed into a crime. Caligula pretended that he staid at Rome, in order to make himself master of the city in case any accident should befal the prince: and for that reason compelled him to cut his throat with a razor. Crevier's *Emperors*, vol. iii. b. 7.

(*e*) We know nothing of Agricola's mother beyond the excellent character given of her by Tacitus. Like some of the best and noblest of the Roman matrons, she attended to the education of her son, which at Rome was a matter of the first importance. The reader will find the advantages of the maternal care stated at large in the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 28.

(*f*) This city (now Marseilles) was founded by a colony of the Phocæans, who carried with them the polished manners and the literature of Greece. Strabo says, the Roman nobility had been used to travel to Athens for their improvement, but of late were content to visit Massilia, or Marseilles. See Tacitus, *Annals*, b. iv. s. 43.

(*g*) Military science, a thorough knowledge of the laws, and the powers of eloquence, were the accomplishments by which a citizen of Rome raised himself to the honours of the magistracy, and the consulship. This was not only the case during the republic, but continued under the emperors. The man who devoted himself to the speculations of philosophy, or to a life of literature, could not, by those abstract studies, open his way into the senate. Agricola was aware of this, and therefore relinquished the metaphysical systems, to which he felt himself strongly addicted.

Section V.

(*a*) Suetonius Paulinus was sent by Nero to command in Bri-

tain, A. U. C. 814, and of the Christian æra 61. Of this officer, one of the ablest that Rome produced during the first century of the Christian æra, an ample character is given by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 29. We learn from the elder Pliny, that in the beginning of the reign of Claudius he commanded in Mauritania, and, having defeated the barbarians in several battles, laid waste the country as far as Mount Atlas. Pliny, lib. v. s. 1. After the death of Galba, he fought on the side of Otho against Vitellius; and being compelled, against his own judgment, to hazard a battle at Bedriacum, he did not dare, after his defeat, to return to his camp, but saved himself by flight. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 44. He afterwards patched up a reconciliation with Vitellius. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 60. In Britain he signalized himself by his great military talents; and in that school of war Agricola, then about twenty years old, acquired that experience, which enabled him, in process of time, to reduce the whole island to subjection.

(*b*) Rank in the Roman armies, such as tribune or centurion, was the claim of merit. It was, for that reason, the custom of young men of illustrious families to attend in the train of the general, in order to learn the first rudiments of war, or, in the modern phrase, to *see service*. The young officer lived at head quarters. By learning to obey, he was taught how to command at a future time. He bore some resemblance to what the French have called an *aide de camp*. Suetonius says that Julius Cæsar's first campaign was in Asia, as tent-companion to Marcus Thermus the prætor. *Stipendia prima fecit in Asiâ, Marci Thermi prætoris contubernio.* Suet. *in Jul. Cæs.* s. 2.

(*c*) There were so many candidates for the rank of tribune, that the general, in order to divide his favours, often granted those commissions for the term of six months. Thus we see Pliny, in a letter to Sossius, requesting a six months tribuneship for Calvisius, whom he commends in the highest terms. *Hunc rogo semestri tribunatu splendidiorem et sibi et avunculo facias.* Lib. iv. ep. 4. It is probable, however, that Agricola's merit obtained a full

commission; but he did not avail himself of his preferment to gain his *commeatus*, which Gronovius calls, *jus absentiæ a signis*, the right of being absent from the colours. Those exemptions from duty were often improperly granted to the great detriment of the service, as we see in the History, b. i. s. 46.

(*d*) While Suetonius was employed in the reduction of the Isle of *Mona*, now *Anglesey*, the chief seat of the Druids, and consequently the centre of superstition, the Britons, taking advantage of his absence, rose in arms; and, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, attacked the Roman stations, and laid a scene of blood and carnage in every quarter. No less than 70,000 were put to the sword without distinction. Suetonius with his small army marched back through the heart of the country, to the protection of London, then a flourishing city; but he found, on his arrival, that the place was not tenable. He abandoned it to the merciless fury of the enemy, and it was accordingly reduced to ashes. But this cruelty was revenged by Suetonius in a great and decisive battle, in which 80,000 Britons are said to have perished. Boadicea put an end to her life by poison. See the account at large, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 29, to the end of section 37. In this important scene of military operations, a mind like that of Agricola, young, intent, and ardent, could not fail to prepare himself for that renown, which he was destined to acquire by the complete conquest of the island.

Section VI.

(*a*) The quæstorship was the first office entered upon by those who aspired to the higher magistracies. It might be undertaken at the age of twenty-four. Thus in the *Annals*, b. iii. s. 29, we find Tiberius applying to the senate to introduce the eldest son of Germanicus, before he was qualified by his age.

(*b*) Salvius Titianus was the brother of Otho, who, for a short time, was emperor of Rome. During the competition with Vitellius, he was the commander in chief of his brother's army. His

rash counsels hurried on the last decisive action at Bedriacum, where his party was totally ruined. He survived that defeat, and the victor did not think him worthy of his resentment. See more of him, *Hist.* b. i. and ii.

(*c*) The office of tribune owed its origin to a violent dispute between the patricians and plebeians, A. U. C. 260; when the latter, making a defection, could not be reduced to order, till they obtained the privilege of choosing some magistrates out of their own body, for the defence of their liberties, and to ward off all grievances imposed upon them by their superiors. At first two only were elected; three more were added in a short time; and A. U. C. 297, the number increased to ten, which continued ever after. Whoever is conversant in Roman History, will recollect that these new officers, appointed at first as the redressers of grievances, usurped the power of doing almost whatever they pleased. They were reputed *sacrosancti*, which they confirmed by law; so that it was deemed an act of impiety to interrupt them when they were speaking. Their interposing in matters debated by the senate was called *intercessio*, and their authority was declared by one word, VETO. The emperors left them little more than the name and shadow of magistracy, by contriving to have the same power vested in themselves: hence they were said to be *tribunitia potestate donati*. See *Annals*, b. i. s. 2. Pliny the younger states his opinion of the nature of the office, and says, when he was tribune, he declined to plead in any cause; not thinking it fit, that he, who could command others to be silent, should himself be silenced by an hour-glass. *Deforme arbitrabar hunc, qui jubere posset tacere quemcumque, huic silentium clepsydrâ indici.* Lib. i. ep. 23.

(*d*) The office of prætor was first instituted in the year of Rome 389, to gratify the patrician order with a new dignity, in consideration of their having resigned the consulship to the choice of the people. Livy, b. vii. s. 1. In process of time, eight prætors were chosen annually, and had their separate provinces in the ad-

ministration of justice. One had jurisdiction in all private causes between the citizens of Rome; the second decided in all suits between strangers and the inhabitants of Rome. One was called PRÆTOR URBANUS; the other, PRÆTOR PEREGRINUS. Livy, b. xxiv. s. 44, expressly mentions these distinct offices. The other six prætors were to sit in judgment in all criminal matters. The authority of the judge, who presided in civil causes, was called JURISDICTIO: when the proceeding was for crimes and misdemeanors, it took the name of QÆSTIO: if before an extraordinary judicature, it was then termed COGNITIO. So the matter is accurately explained by Lipsius. But the new magistrate created by Augustus, called the governor of the city, PRÆFECTUS URBIS, soon absorbed, and drew into his own vortex, the whole business of the *police*, and the cognizance of all offences. See *Annals*, b. vi. s. 10 and 11. The senators and patricians, their wives and sons, were cited to appear at the bar of the senate; but, in all cases, it was competent to the person accused, to remove the cause before the prince himself, who either heard it in his cabinet, or referred it to the præfect of the city, or else to a board of special commissioners. Hence the prætorian dignity had little more than the mere shadow of authority. Boetius calls it an empty name, a mere incumbrance on the senatorian rank. *Inane nomen, et senatorii census gravem sarcinam. Consol. Philosoph.* lib. iii. As the prætors drew lots among themselves, and each man took the province assigned to him by chance, we find that the hearing of civil causes, called JURISDICTIO, did not fall to the share of Agricola. For the rest, the præfect of the city, most probably, relieved him from the care of public offences. Hence nothing remained for him, during the whole year of his prætorship, but the exhibition of public spectacles, and the amusement of the populace.

(e) Nero was put to death, A. U. C. 821, of the Christian æra, 68. Galba succeeded, but reigned only a few months. Agricola was chosen for the due care of religion, and the protection of the public temples; but the plunder committed by Nero, about three years before his death, could not be redressed. The whole was dissipated in wild profusion. See *Annals*, b. xv. s. 45.

SECTION VII.

(*a*) This was the year of Rome 822, of Christ 69.

(*b*) INTEMELIUM was a municipal town in the country now called *Vintimiglia*, in the territory of Genoa. It was situated on the Mediterranean. The descent made by a band of adventurers from Otho's fleet, and the havoc and devastation committed by those ferocious warriors, is described by Tacitus, *Hist.* b. ii. s. 12 and 13. Vespasian, it now began to be known, declared himself a candidate for the imperial dignity. The news reached Agricola some time in the month of July, in the above year, 822. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 79.

(*c*) Vespasian remained in Asia and Egypt, while his generals carried their victorious arms to the city of Rome, and proclaimed him emperor. His son Titus, in the mean time, carried on the siege of Jerusalem. Domitian was at Rome, but too young to conduct the reins of government. Vice and debauchery were more suited to his genius. Mucianus, the confidential minister of Vespasian, arrived at Rome, and took upon him the whole conduct of the administration. He may be said to have reigned with Vespasian. Antonius was the general who conquered for Vespasian, but Mucianus deprived him of his laurels. See *History*, b. iv; and see the character of Mucianus, *Hist.* b. ii. s. 5.

(*d*) The twentieth legion was at that time in Britian; and it is so expressed in the translation, though the text is silent as to that particular. The Romans had three legions in this island, namely, II^a. *Augusta*; IX^a. *Hispaniensis;* XX^a. *Victrix*. The officer to whom Agricola succeeded, was *Roscius Cœlius*, a man of a restless, turbulent disposition, malignant, envious, and always at variance with Trebellius Maximus, the commander in chief. The latter was a *consular legat*, LEGATUS CONSULARIS: Cœlius was a *prætorian legat*, LEGATUS PRÆTORIUS. The consular legats were either generals of the army or governors of provinces, and

for the most part, both at the same time. Wherever they were present, the prætorian legat had no higher trust than the command of a legion. And yet Cælius, by exasperating his general officer, and inflaming the minds of the soldiers, raised the dissensions of the army to such a pitch, that Trebellius Maximus was obliged to fly from his post, and to abandon the island. *Hist.* b. i. s. 60. Roscius Cælius remained to enjoy his victory. He governed in a tumultuous manner, by violent measures assuming the supreme authority His legion had been tardy in declaring for Vespasian, and the delay was imputed to the seditious spirit of the commander. Mucianus thought fit to recal him. Agricola went a second time into Britain, and put himself at the head of the legion, which is supposed to have been at that time quartered at *Deva*, now *Chester*. An inscription has been found in the following words: *Deva Leg.* XX. *Victrix.* See Camden's *Britannia*, p. 538.

Section VIII.

(*a*) Vettius Bolanus was sent by Vitellius to command in Britain ,after the abdication of Trebellius Maximus. He had served under Corbulo in Armenia, but, according to Tacitus, does not seem to have profited by the example of so great a master. Mediocrity was his element. And yet Statius, in a poem to Crispinus, the son of Bolanus, lays out the whole force of his genius to celebrate the warlike achievements of the father. He stuns us with a muster-roll of his virtues, his exploits in the east, and his trophies in Britain. Bolanus, he says, waged war on the banks of the Araxes, and fought to reduce Armenia to subjection under Nero. Corbulo, the commander in chief, admired the ardour of the young officer, and committed to his care the most difficult operations of the campaign.

——————————Ille juventam
Protinus ingrediens, pharetratum invasit Araxem
Belliger, indocilemque fero servire Neroni
Armeniam. Rigidi summam Mavortis agebat

Corbulo, sed comitem belli, sociumque laborum,
Ille quoque egregiis multum miratus in armis,
Bolanum, atque illi curarum asperrima suetus
Credere, partirique metus.

The poet proceeds to hold up to the son the great example of his father. Learn, he says, from him; you have a family monitor to inspire you with every virtue; let kindred praise excite you to heroic action. The Decii and the Camilli may be pointed out to others. It will be for you to keep your eye on your father; observe with what undaunted fortitude he advanced as far as Thulé amidst storms and tempests and the rigours of the winter.

Disce, puer: nec enim externo monitore petendus
Virtutis tibi pulcher amor; cognata ministret
Laus animos: aliis Decii reducesque Camilli
Monstrentur; tu disce patrem, quantusque nigrantem
Fluctibus occiduis, fessoque Hyperione Thulen
Intrarit mandata gerens.

STATIUS, SYLV. lib. v. poem. ii.

Unfortunately for the bard, history is silent about all these great exploits; and when history, the intelligencer of antiquity, *nuntia vetustatis*, shows no foundation for this exaggerated praise, the poet must be supposed to have indulged a flight of fancy. Bolanus was recalled; and Cerealis, who conducted the war against Civilis the Batavian chief (See *Hist.* b. iv. s. 71), was sent by Vespasian to command the legions in Britain, A. U. C. 823; A. D. 70. Agricola, we find, was still serving in Britain.

SECTION IX.

(*a*) The senators were not, of course of the patrician order, as appears, *Annals* xi. s. 25, where we see the emperor Claudius adding the oldest of the fathers to the list of patricians; the families of that rank, created by Romulus and by Brutus, and also those advanced by Julius Cæsar and Augustus, being well nigh extinguished. Vespasian exercised the same authority, and, under his patronage, Agricola rose to the honours of the state.

(*b*) The grand divisions of Gaul have been mentioned in the Manners of the Germans, section i. note (*a*). To that account it may be proper to add, that a subdivision was made by Augustus, distributing the whole country into seven provinces; namely, Narbonne Gaul; Aquitania, the province of Lugdunum, or Lyons, properly Celtic Gaul; Belgic Gaul, and Upper and Lower Germany. These several districts, except Narbonne Gaul, were under the immediate management of the prince. The province of Aquitania was inclosed by the Pyrenean mountains, the Rhone, the Loire, and the Atlantic Ocean.

(*c*) The governors of provinces administered justice not only to the army, but likewise to the inhabitants. In discharging the functions of his station, Agricola took care to have no dispute, no contest with subordinate officers. Seneca observes, to contend with your superior, is a degree of frenzy; with your equal, something is hazarded; with your inferior, it is a degradation. *Cum superiore condendere, furiosum; cum pari, anceps; cum inferiore, sordidum.*

(*d*) In the year of Rome 830, and of the Christian æra 77, Vespasian was consul, eighth time, with his son Titus, the sixth. On the calends of July in that year, Brotier says, upon the authority of Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. i. p. 281, that Domitian and Agricola were appointed consuls for the remainder of the year. This practice was first introduced by Augustus, under the plausible pretence of having more frequent opportunities to oblige the illustrious families of Rome, but, in fact, to impair the dignity, and lessen the power of the consuls. The succeeding emperors adopted the same plan of policy; and the mischief went on increasing, till in the reign of Commodus there were no less than five-and-twenty consuls in one year. During the whole time, the consuls, who entered on their office in the beginning of January, gave their name to the whole year. Those, who were made occasionally, called CONSULES SUBROGATI, are seldom mentioned in the FASTI CONSULARES. Hence the difficulty of ascertaining their exact time. Agricola, according to Tillemont, was consul A. D. 77.

Section X.

(*a*) The writers, who before Tacitus's time had given a description of Britain, were Julius Cæsar, Livy, the celebrated historian, and Fabius Rusticus, the friend of Seneca, often quoted by Tacitus. His works have perished in the general wreck of ancient literature. Livy's account was in book cv. but we have nothing now remaining except the epitome, not very well filled up by the supplement of Freinshemius. A slight knowledge of distant countries was sufficient for the ancient geographers. They were never at a loss for some form or shape, to which they compared the place in question, and then conceived that they had given a true outline or draught of the country: but the accurate maps of modern geographers show how much they were deceived. Pliny the elder informs us, that the original name was Albion, and Sir William Temple gives the etymology of the word. Albion, he says, was derived from *Alpion; Alp*, in some of the western languages, signifying high lands or hills, as this isle appears to those who approach it from the continent. In Cæsar's time, Britain was the general appellation. Sir William Temple derives the word from *Brith*, the paint with which the inhabitants gave an azure blue to their bodies and their shields. The Romans, he says, called the island *Britannia*, giving a Latin termination to a barbarous name, in the same manner as they did with regard to other countries that fell under their commerce or conquest; such as Mauritania, Aquitania, and other places commonly known. Camden thinks that Britannia was a compound word, from *Brith*, paint, *Tania*, a term importing a region or country. Cæsar's account of a triangular form may be admitted. Taking the whole length from Dover to the Land's End in Cornwall for one side of the triangle, the eastern and the western coasts contract by degrees, and, though not strictly reduced to a point at the northern extremity, it is there sufficiently narrow to justify Cæsar's comparison, and, according to Tacitus, to present the form of a wedge. It is true, that he calls it an island, but he seems to have had no better authority than the voice of fame. No navigator had, at

that time, sailed round the island. The Greeks thought it a large continent. See *Univ. Hist.* vol. xix. p. 68.

(*b*) Cæsar says that the western side extends towards Spain, and that Ireland, about half as large as Britain, lies opposite to that coast. *Vergit ad Hispaniam, atque occidentem solem, quâ ex parte est Hibernia, dimidio minor, ut existimatur, quam Britannia. De Bell. Gall.* lib. v. s. 13. The part of Britain, long since called Scotland, was known to the Romans by the name of *Caledonia*, because, says Sir William Temple, the northeast part of Scotland, was by the natives called CAL DUN, which signifies hills of hazel, with which it was covered; from whence the Romans gave it the name of *Caledonia;* thus forming an easy and pleasant sound out of what was harsh to such elegant tongues and ears as theirs.

(*c*) An account of this voyage round the island will be found in this Tract, s. 38. Then, for the first time, the Romans obtained geographical certainty.

(*d*) The *Orcades* (now the *Orkney* Islands) were known by the report of fame in the reign of Claudius. Some historians have ascribed the conquest to that emperor, but for this there does not seem to be sufficient foundation. Flattery was in haste to decorate the prince with laurels unearned. It is true that Pomponius Mela has said that those islands were thirty in number. *Triginta sunt Orcades angustis inter se diductæ spatiis.* Mela, lib. iii. s. 6. Pliny likewise mentions them; but his account of the number shows that he relied on mere report. He says, there are FORTY islands, called the Orcades, all separated by narrow straits. *Sunt autem* xl. *Orcades modicis inter se discretæ spatiis.* Pliny, lib. iv. s. 16. Had Claudius added those islands to the Roman empire, it is not probable that there would have been a variance, as to the number, among the authors of that day. Eutropius, and Eusebius in his Chronicle, are the authorities upon which Claudius must rely for his fame; but the silence of Tacitus is a strong contradiction to those writers.

(e) Much has been said by the Greek and Roman poets of a place in the northern regions, called Thulé; but it is evident they did not all agree in the geographical description. Camden is of opinion that the *Thulé* of Tacitus is one of the *Shetland* islands, which lie to the north of the Orcades, latit. 60. The ancient poets heard of *Thulé*, and made their own use of it, to adorn their verse. To fix the exact spot was not their business. They were masters of every northern latitude, and they could always command ice enough to build their mountains, and snow enough to cover them. From the historians and geographers more accuracy might be expected, but navigation was in its infancy. The Northern Ocean, as Tacitus has observed in the Manners of the Germans, always adverse to mariners, was seldom visited by ships from the Roman world. *Thulé* was, in general, understood to be the most remote land in the northern latitudes, but the exact local situation was not ascertained. Pliny the elder had all the information that diligence could collect, and he knew how to embellish what he heard with all the graces of elegant composition. But still the Northern Ocean was unexplored. The German Sea, he says, is interspersed with a number of islands, called GLESSARIÆ, and by the Greeks, ELECTRIDÆ, because amber (*electrum*) is found there in considerable quantities. Of these islands, *Thulé* is the most distant; and there, at the summer solstice, when the sun is passing the tropic of Cancer, the inhabitants have no night; and, in like manner, during the winter they see no day, for the space, as is generally supposed, of six months. *Ab adverso in Germanicum mare sparsæ Glessariæ, quas Electridas Græci recentiores appellavere, quod ibi electrum nasceretur. Ultima omnium, quæ memorantur, Thulé; in qua solstitio nullas esse noctes indicavimus, Cancri signum sole transeunte, nullosque contra per brumam dies. Hoc quidem senis mensibus continuis fieri arbitrantur.* Pliny, lib. iv. s. 30. But it is evident that *Shetland* could not be the place intended by Pliny. A night or day of six months is known in more northern latitudes. Procopius, in his history of the Gothic War, book. ii. places Thulé in Norway, which was thought by the ancients to be an island. Agricola's fleet might see the coast of Nor-

way at a distance, and having heard of *Thulé*, might conclude that they had seen that region of eternal frost and snow. This, or according to the conjecture of Camden, Shetland, might be the Thulé of Tacitus. That of Pliny was, most probably, Iceland, especially as he says it lay within one day's sail from the Frozen Ocean. *A Thulé unius diei navigatione mare concretum, a nonnullis Cronium appellatur.* Lib. iv. s. 30. If Iceland was intended by Pliny, the accounts given by navigators must have been very imperfect, since he makes no mention of three volcanos, particularly Mount *Hecla*, which, amidst a waste of snow, constantly throws up columns of smoke and fire. See a Discourse *Sur la Navigation de Phythéas à Thulé*, *Memoirs of the Acad. of Belles Lettres*, vol. xxxvii. p. 436.

(*f*) From vague and uncertain accounts of the Frozen Ocean, the ancients might form their idea of a sea in such a thick and concrete state, that the oars could hardly move, and the winds scarcely agitate such a sluggish mass of water. But the tranquillity of those seas has been long known to be a mere fiction. It is therefore needless to examine the reasons assigned by Tacitus, to account for a phænomenon which does not exist. See what is said of this sea, *Manners of the Germans*, s. 45. What is said of the various inlets, through which the tide forces it way into the heart of the country, is sufficiently warranted by the *Æstuarium Bodotriæ* (the Firth of Forth), by the *Glota* (the Firth of Clyde), and other well known harbours, creeks, bays, and rivers of Scotland.

Section XI.

(*a*) Through the want of literary records, the history of barbarous nations is generally lost in darkness. When the origin of a people could not be traced, the difficulty was surmounted, by supposing that the soil, by a certain fecundity in those early seasons of the world, produced the race of man. Mother earth, or MATER TELLUS, satisfied the inquiries of the most profound philosophy. The sons of the earth were called *indigenæ*, *aborigines*, or natives of the soil. Men were supposed to spring from the bowels

of the earth, from the trunks of trees, and even from rocks. The poets were the philosophers and historians of the age. Horace talks of the human race as issuing out of the earth: *cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris*; and Ovid gives them no other origin. But the age of darkness is past, and the reveries of ignorance have long since vanished. We are now content to be descended from Adam, instead of reckoning rocks and caves for our progenitors. Tacitus judges by a better rule. From certain resemblances of feature, language, and manners; from the size of limb and colour of the hair, he concludes, not without probability, that this island was peopled from Germany, Spain, and Gaul. The government of the country was like that of Gaul, consisting of several nations under different petty princes. Cæsar reckons no less that four in Kent, book v. s. 22. The most considerable tribes, or nations (Caledonia not included), were the *Dumnonii*, in Devonshire and Cornwall; the *Silures*, in Herefordshire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Glamorgan; the *Ordovices*, in North Wales; the *Trinobantes*, in Middlesex and Essex; the *Cantii*, or people of Kent; the *Iceni*, in Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire; and the *Brigantes*, in Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland.

(*b*) The *Caledonians*, and the etymology of the name, have been already mentioned, s. x. note (*a*).

(*c*) The Silures, as already stated, occupied Herefordshire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Glamorganshire. They may be called the inhabitants of South Wales. The Iberians were the first inhabitants of Spain, so called from the river *Iberus*, now the *Ebro*.

(*d*) Cæsar tells us that frequent migrations were made from Belgic Gaul into Britain; and that the adventurers, having gained possession by force of arms, employed themselves in cultivating the land, in a climate which they found more temperate than what they had known in Gaul. *Maritima pars ab iis, qui*

prædæ ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgio transierunt, et bello illato ibi remanserunt, atque agros colere cæperunt. Loca sunt temperatiora quàm in Galliâ, remissioribus frigoribus. Lib. v. s. 12. The continent, most undoubtedly, was peopled first, and the redundant numbers overflowed into the adjacent isles.

(e) The Druids, according to Cæsar's account, believed in the transmigration of souls, and that doctrine they thought had a happy tendency to inspire men with courage, and a contempt of death. They taught their pupils a system of astronomy; they described the various revolutions of the planets, the dimensions of the globe, the operations of nature; they talked with reverence of the immortal gods, and initiated their youth in all their mysteries. *In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios: atque hoc maximè ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa præterea de sideribus, atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum naturâ, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant, et juventuti tradunt De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 13. Human sacrifices, as observed in a former note, were part of their superstition. Living bodies were inclosed in large ozier cages, and consumed in the flames. That the same rites and ceremonies were established in Britain, there can be no doubt, since we are told by Cæsar, that the religious system of Gaul was transplanted from Britain; and, even in his time, those who wished to be perfectly skilled in the druidical doctrines, passed over into this island for instruction. *Disciplina in Britanniâ reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata, esse existimatur. Et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo, discendi causâ, proficiscuntur. De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 12. The late Mr. Hume has observed, "that no idolatrous worship ever attained such an ascendant over mankind as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons; and the Romans, after their conquest, finding it impossible to reconcile those nations to the laws and institutions of their masters, were at last obliged to abolish the druidical system by penal statutes; a violence, which had never, in any other instance, been practised by those tolerating con-

querors." Hume's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 5. See Tacitus, *Annals*, book xiv. s. 30.

(*f*) This conformity of languages, Brotier says, still subsists in some parts of Cornwall and of the ancient Armorica, now called Bretagne. It is said, that a dialect of the Welsh is but just extinct in Cornwall.

(*g*) Solinus, speaking of the warlike Britons, says, when a woman is delivered of a male child, she places the infant's first food on the point of her husband's sword, and inserts it in the little one's mouth; and offering up her supplications to the gods of her country, devoutly prays, that he may die in war amidst hostile swords and javelins. *Solinus*, chap. 22.

(*h*) The Britons were conquered, in the reign of Claudius, by Aulus Plautius, the first Roman general who landed on the island, since the invasion of Julius Cæsar. Plautius defeated the natives, A. U. C. 796, A. D. 43. Several signal victories were afterwards obtained by Suetonius Paulinus, Petilius Cerealis, and other commanders, insomuch that the southern part of the island was reduced to a Roman province. The Caledonians stood for liberty, till their last decisive action under Galgacus (see from section xxx. to end of section xxxviii.), when they retired to their fastnesses in the Highlands.

Section XII.

(*a*) This manner of fighting in chariots calls to mind the practice of heroic times described in the battles of the Iliad. But the heroes of the poet differed, in their notion of the point of honour, from the British chiefs. With the Greeks and Trojans, the driver of the carriage was the second in rank: the warrior of high renown was the person who fought. Hector had his 'squire to guide the reigns, while he displayed his towering plume, and braved every danger. Achilles had his Automedon.

> Automedon and Alcimus prepare
> Th' immortal coursers and the radiant car.

> The charioteer then whirl'd the lash around,
> And swift ascended at one active bound;
> Then bright in heavenly arms, above his 'squire
> Achilles mounts, and sets the field on fire.
>
> POPE's Iliad, book xix. v. 426.

Virgil in a beautiful picture representing the wars of Troy, in the first Æneid, describes the Trojans flying before Achilles, who pursues with ardour in his warlike car:

> Hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.

In the fifth Iliad, Æneas invites Pandarus to join him in the fight:

> Haste, seize the whip, and snatch the guiding reign;
> The warrior's fury let his arm sustain;
> Or, if to combat thy bold heart incline,
> Take thou the spear, the chariot's care be mine.
>
> POPE's Iliad, book v. verse 284.

Among the Britons it was otherwise: the chief warrior drove the chariot, by Cæsar called *esseda*, and by Tacitus *covinus:* see this Tract, s. xxxv. note (*b*). The British chiefs, as it seems, thought it more honourable to drive the car into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and distinguish themselves by braving every danger. It appears, likewise, that a number of combatants mounted together in the same vehicle, which was not the case in Homer's battles.

(*b*) We read in the Annals, b. xii. s. 36, of Caractacus, king of the Silures; in b. xiv. s. 31, of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni; and s. 35, of Boadicea, his widow, who succeeded to her husband's dominions. For Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, who delivered up Caractacus to the Romans, see *Annals*, b. xii. s. 36, and *Hist.* b. iii. s. 45.

(*c*) The original says, *rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus.* This, translated ver-

bally, imports, *that a meeting is seldom had between two or three cities to repel the common danger.* But the word CIVITAS is rarely used by the Latin historians for what, in the modern acceptation, is called a city. CIVITAS generally implies a body politic, a people united in civil society, under a settled constitution and a regular frame of laws. Such were the Silures, under Caractacus; the Icenians, under Boadicea; the Brigantes, under Cartismandua: but there is no instance of their acting in concert for their mutual defence.

(*d*) Tacitus, in this place, may be said to be out of his depth. His notions here, as well as in the passage concerning the Suiones in the Manners of the Germans, section xlv. hold more of the poet than the philosopher. Astronomy and geography were sciences not sufficiently cultivated in his time. Pliny endeavours more rationally to account for the phænomenon, from the position of the sun at the summer solstice. In Italy, he says, the length of the day is fifteen hours, and in Britain seventeen; the nights in that island being so bright, that, when the sun at the solstice approaches so near the earth as to become vertical, the northern regions have, by consequence, a day of six months, and in the winter a night of the same length. *In Italiâ quindecim horas; in Britanniâ septemdecim; ubi æstate lucidæ noctes, haud dubiè re·promittunt id, quod cogit ratio credi, solstitii diebus accedente sole propius verticem mundi, subjecta terræ continuos dies habere senis mensibus, noctesque e diverso ad brumam remoto.* Pliny, lib. ii. s. 75. But long sea voyages were rarely undertaken in Pliny's time, and it is, therefore, no wonder that he wanted due information. He mentions one bold navigator, Pytheas of Marseilles, and upon his authority, says that at Thulé, which lay six days sail from the northern part of Britain, the day and night were each of them six months long. The same, he adds, was said of the isle of Mona, which was distant from Camelodunum (*Colchester*) about two hundred miles. *Quod fieri in insulâ Thulé, Pytheas Massiliensis scripsit, sex dierum navigatione in septemtrionem a Britanniâ distante. Quidam vero et in Monâ quæ distat a Camelo-*

dumo, Britanniæ oppido, circiter dusentis millibus adfirmant. Pliny, lib. ii. s. 75. If the Thulé of Pytheas was Greenland or Zembla, what is said of the length of days and nights in those islands may be admitted; but same could not be the case in Britain, or any British island. The Orkneys lie in latitude 60, or thereabouts; and in the summer, their day is not much more than eighteen hours long. But neither Pliny, nor Tacitus, had a just idea of the figure of the earth, and the vicissitudes of seasons occasioned by the annual motion round the sun. The discovery was reserved for the genius of Sir Isaac Newton. Without being a voyager or traveller, that sublime philosopher founded his calculations on mathematical and scientific principles. As Fontenelle observes, he ascertained the true figure of the earth without stirring out of his elbow-chair. The experiments of Maupertuis, and his associates, who in the years 1735 and 1736 measured a degree in Lapland, served to confirm Newton's doctrine; and, from that time, the length of days and nights in all parts of the globe has been scientifically known. Mathematicians have informed us, that the degrees of longitude are not, like those of latitude, always equal, but diminish in proportion as the meridians contract in their approach to the Pole, as may be seen in the common tables, showing the number of miles contained in a degree of longitude, in each parallel of latitude from the Equator to the Pole. In consequence of this knowledge, and the position of the earth in every part of its orbit, astronomers have laid down their tables of the various climates between the equator and the extremity of the north. They have enumerated thirty climates: in the first twenty-four, which terminate between the latitudes 66 and 67, the days increase by half-hours; and in the remaining six, by months. At Spitzbergen, or East Greenland, the day lasts five months, and six at the Pole. Pomponius Mela talks of *Thulé*, but he did not know where to place his island, so as to account for the length of days, which he has described. He says that *Thulé* lies opposite to the coast of the *Belgæ*, and there the nights are dark in winter, but at the summer solstice there is no night at all. *Thulé Belgarum littori oppostia est: in eâ noctes per hyemem obscuræ; per solstitium*

nullæ. Lib. iii. cap. 6. But that length of days could only happen in the more northern latitudes. When Tacitus says, that the nights, at the extremity of Britain, are so luminous, that the interval between the close and the return of day can scarce be distinguished, this may perhaps, be admitted; since Lord Mulgrave, in an accurate account of his Voyage to the Northern Seas, performed in the year 1773, says that on the 12th of June (latitude 56: 28) it was then light enough all night to read upon deck. On the 29th of the same month (latitude 77: 59) the adjacent coast, covered with snow and ice, would have suggested the idea of perpetual winter, had not the mildness of the weather, bright sunshine, and constant day light, given a cheerfulness and novelty to the whole of that striking and romantic scene. In the month of August (latitude 80, or thereabouts) his lordship observed, that, during the whole time of his being in those latitudes, he never found, (though Martin has said otherwise) that the sun at midnight in appearance resembled the moon. His lordship adds, that he saw no difference, in clear weather, between the sun at midnight and any other time, but what arose from a different degree of altitude; the brightness of the light appearing there, as well as elsewhere, to depend on the obliquity of his rays. See the *Voyage*, p. 71.

(*e*) When Tacitus endeavours to assign a reason for the short interval between day and night, and says, *that the extreme and flat parts of the earth, casting a low shadow, do not elevate the darkness, and night falls beneath the sky and the stars*, it is impossible to strike out any thing like sense from a passage so very embarrassed and obscure. The reader is left to regret that a writer, of such acute discernment on all political and moral subjects, should be obliged, without any principles of astronomy and geography (a science in that age little understood), to offer a vain hypothesis for reason and sound philosophy. Tacitus, it should seem, thought that the earth was one extensive continued surface, and that night was occasioned by the sun's retiring behind high lands and mountains. The form of the globe, its rotation on its own

axis, and the various positions in its annual orbit, are mathematical discoveries, which were not known to the Romans.

(*f*) Mines of gold and silver, sufficient to reward the conqueror, were found in Mexico and Peru; but this island never produced a quantity to pay the invader for the destruction of the human species. Cicero says, in one of his letters, It is well known that not a single grain of silver could be found in the island. *Illud cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum, esse ullum in illâ insulâ. Ad Attic.* lib. iv. epist. 16. This, however, is contradicted by modern authorities. Camden mentions gold and silver mines in Cumberland, a mine of silver in Flintshire, and of gold in Scotland. See Camden's *Britannia*, p. 692 and 741. The same author, talking of the copper mines in Cumberland, says, that veins of gold and silver were found intermixed with the common ore, and, in the reign of Elizabeth, gave birth to a suit at law between the earl of Northumberland and another claimant. Doctor Borlase, in his *History of Cornwall*, p. 214, relates, "that so late as the year 1753, several pieces of gold were found in what the miners call *stream tin*; and silver is now got in considerable quantity from several of our lead mines." A curious paper concerning the *gold mines of Scotland* is given by Mr. Pennant in Append. No. X. to his second part of a *Tour in Scotland* in 1772. But still there never was gold and silver enough to be the price of victory. The other metals, such as iron, lead, tin, and copper, are found in abundance at this day.

(*g*) Suetonius imputes Cæsar's invasion of Britain to his desire of enriching himself with the pearl found on different parts of the coast. *Britanniam petiisse spe margaritarum. In Jul. Cæs.* s 47. Pliny says, it is certain that pearls of an inferior size, and rather discoloured, are produced in Britain; since the Deified Julius wished it to be understood, that the breastplate which he dedicated to Venus, in the temple of the goddess, was composed of British pearl. *In Britanniâ parvos atque decolores (uniones) nasci certum est, quoniam Divius Julius thoracem, quem Veneri genitrici*

in templo ejus dicavit, ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intelligi. Plin. lib. ix. s. 35. The pearls most in request with the ancients were those collected in the Red Sea, the Gulf of Persia, and the Indian Ocean; the next in value were the British, tinged on the surface with a colour resembling gold, but, in general, of a dark hue, and less transparent than the Indian. Camden talks of pearl found in *Caernarvon*, in *Cumberland*, and in the British Sea. See his *Britannia*, p. 597, 690, and 752. Mr. Pennant, in his Tour in Scotland, 1769, mentions a considerable pearl fishery out of the fresh water muscle in the vicinity of Perth, from whence 10,000*l.* worth was sent to London from 1761 to 1769. But when that ingenious traveller visited Scotland; the fishery was almost exhausted. There is a passage in Pliny that shows the esteem in which the Oriental pearl was held at Rome. Pearls, he says, are imported in such quantities from the Arabian Sea, that Rome was annually drained of an immoderate sum by the inhabitants of the East and the peninsula of India. So much do our finery and our women cost us annually! *Verum Arabiæ etiamnum felicius mare est; ex illo namque margaritas mittit: minimâque computatione millies centena sestertia annis omnibus India et Seres, peninsulaque illa imperio nostro adimunt. Tanto nobis deliciæ et fœminæ constant!* Pliny, lib. xii. s. 18. This proves what Tacitus says: When so much encouragement was given, the avarice of British merchants would not be deficient. Their pearl, therefore, was of an inferior sort.

Section XIII.

(a) Tacitus now proceeds to relate the progress of the Roman arms in Britain, from the first invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar to the time when Agricola became commander in chief. This, and the preceding account, may by some be called a digression: but, since Agricola subdued the whole island, a description of the country and the inhabitants is a proper introduction to so bright a career of glory. Julius Cæsar, it is well known, made two attempts upon this island; the first A. U. C. 699, and the second in the following year. The plans which his ambition had formed against

his own country, did not leave him at leisure to enlarge the Roman empire. After some slight success, he seems to have been glad to withdraw his forces. There is some truth in what Lucan has said: He showed his back to the enemy whom he sought:

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

(*b*) The moderation or prudence which took place in the councils of Augustus is well known. Content with receiving some petty annual tributes from Britain, that emperor did not choose to involve himself in remote and dangerous wars. It was with him a maxim, that the boundaries of the empire ought not to be enlarged; and in his will, which after his death was read in the senate, he gave that advice to his successors. See *Annals*, b. i. s. 11. Augustus, says the late Mr. Hume, content with the victory obtained over the liberties of his own country, was little ambitious of acquiring fame by foreign wars; and being apprehensive lest the same unlimited extent of dominion which had subverted the republic might also overwhelm the empire, he recommended it to his successors never to enlarge the territories of the Romans. Tiberius, jealous of the fame which might be acquired by his generals, made this advice of Augustus a pretence for his inactivity. Hume's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 6. See *Annals*, b. i. 77.

(*c*) Caligula's threatened invasion of Britain ended in an idle and vain parade. History has no scene of folly to compare with it. The German expedition presented a farce to the world, in which the emperor exposed himself to derision. His mock triumph over the Britons was a sequel to the former frolic, but still more absurd and ridiculous. Having written to the senate, to reprimand them for enjoying the pleasures of the circus, while their emperor was exposing himself to the greatest dangers, he drew up his army on the coast of *Gesoriacum* (now *Boulogne*); and having, with great parade, disposed his *ballistæ* and other warlike engines, he ordered his soldiers to gather the sea shells, and fill their helmets and the skirts of their clothes. These, he said, were the spoils

of the ocean, fit to be deposited in the capitol. In memory of this signal victory, he erected a tower, to serve as a light-house for mariners; and by letters to Rome ordered preparations to be made for his triumphal entry, with special directions that it should exceed in magnificence every thing of the kind. The fathers refused to comply, and for their disobedience all were devoted to destruction; but before his bloody purpose could be executed, a conspiracy was formed early in the following year, and Caligula was put to death, A. U. C. 794; A. D. 41. See Suetonius, *Life of Caligula*, s. 46, 47.

(*d*) The Britons, unmolested by the Romans, had enjoyed their liberty near a century, when, in the reign of Claudius, the project of subduing the island was concerted. The most stupid of the emperors was destined to be the conqueror of Britain. A powerful army was sent from Gaul, under the command of able officers. Vespasian was one of the number; and upon that occasion that officer, as Tacitus expresses it, *showed himself to the Fates*. The southern parts of the island being soon reduced, Claudius resolved to visit his new dominions. He took possession of Camelodunum (*Colchester*), received the submission of several petty kings, and in less than six months returned to Rome, to enjoy the splendour of a triumph, with the additional title of BRITANNICUS. Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, s. 17.

SECTION XIV.

(*a*) Aulus Plautius was commander in chief of the army sent by Claudius to the invasion of Britain, A. U. C. 796; A. D. 43.

(*b*) An account of Ostorius Scapula and the brilliant success of his arms, is given by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xii. s. 31 to 39. He sent Caractacus a prisoner to Rome, A. U. C. 803. From that time he went on in a career of victory for several months; when, in the midst of a war with the Silures, he died worn out with care and fatigue. Camden says, that in the parish of *Dinder*, near Hereford, the traces of a Roman camp are still to be seen, called OYSTER-

HILL, and he supposes the name to be derived from Ostorius, the Roman general. Gibson's *Camden*, p. 580.

(*c*) The Romans had the precaution to establish a strong post, well garrisoned by a body of veterans. This was at *Camulodum*, in the territory of the Trinobantes, now the county of Essex. *Camulodum*, according to Camden, was the town of Malden: Baxter and other antiquarians fix it at Colchester, and that opinion is adopted by most of the commentators.

(*d*) We read in the annals, that, as soon as the death of Ostorius Scapula was known at Rome, Claudius sent Aulus Didius to succeed to the command. That officer was involved in a war, in favour of Cartismandua against Venusius, her repudiated husband; and, though age and infirmity rendered him inactive, he was enabled by his officers to quell the insurrection. See *Annals*, b. xii. s. 40. In this tract he is called Didius Gallus; perhaps his name was Aulus Didius Gallus.

(*e*) Veranius was consul A. U. C. 802. *Annals*, b. xii. s. 5.

(*f*) Suetonius Paulinus has been already mentioned; see this Tract, section v. note (*a*); see also *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 29. *Hist.* b. i. s. 87. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 23, 32, 60.

(*g*) It is unnecessary to repeat that MONA is the isle of *Anglesey*. The channel, that separates it from Caernarvon, is so narrow, that Edward I. attempted to throw a bridge over it. It was the asylum of the Druids, and the capital of their religious rites. Suetonius attacked this place, destroyed their altars, and their sacred groves, where they sacrificed human victims. See *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 29 to 40. It may be necessary to observe, that the Mona of Cæsar and Tacitus ought not to be confounded. That of Cæsar is *the Isle of Man*, b. v. s. 13. Pliny calls it *Monapia*, b. iv. s. 16. Tacitus always means the isle of Anglesey. Hume observes, that Suetonius, having destroyed the Druids, with their

consecrated groves, and triumphed over the religion of the Britons, thought his future progress would be easy in reducing the people to subjection. Hume, *Hist.* vol. i. p. 8. But Paulinus could not stay to make himself master of the island. He was recalled by the revolt under the conduct of Boadicea. The final reduction of the isle was reserved for Agricola. See this Tract, s. 18.

Section XV.

(*a*) The general revolt of the Britons, and the massacre of the Romans, that followed in consequence of the discontents here painted forth in the strongest colours, are related at large in the *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 31 to 38.

(*b*) Instead of their own kings, whose power does not appear to have been sufficiently limited, the Britons now groaned under the oppression of two masters; namely, the governor of the province, and the emperor's procurator. Dio Cassius states those two causes of the insurrection, and adds, as a further incentive, the avarice of Seneca. That philosopher, he says, was a well-practised money-lender, and, being perfectly versed in all the arts of usury, laid out a large sum at exorbitant interest among the natives of Britain. As fast as his money became due, he harassed the province with such unrelenting cruelty, that the distressed inhabitants were fired with indignation. Such is the account of an historian; but an historian with reason suspected of harbouring secret malignity to the most illustrious characters in Rome.

(*c*) An allusion to the fate of Varus and his legions, which happened in the fortieth year of Augustus, A. U. C. 762; A. D. 9. See *Manners of the Germans*, s. 37, note (*d*). *Annals*, b. i. sections 58, 61, and 62.

(*d*) Paulinus was then employed in the isle of Anglesey.

Section XVI.

(*a*) Boadicea was the daughter of Prasutagus, king of the Ice-

nians: she succeeded to her father's dominions, and being ignominiously treated by the Romans, headed the revolt, and in the field of action distinguished herself by her martial spirit. *Annals*, b. xiv. The reader on this occasion, will not forget the late Mr. Glover's excellent tragedy, entitled Boadicea; a piece written in the true style of dramatic poetry; without the luscious sweetness of Rowe; yet elegant, strong, and vigorous. If the last act had been constructed with art, so as to raise expectation, and produce an unforeseen catastrophe, the play would still retain its place in the theatre, inferior to Shakspeare only.

(*b*) On the first intelligence of the revolt, and the dreadful slaughter that followed, Suetonius Paulinus abandoned the isle of Anglesey, and showed at once his conduct and his valour. See *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 31 to 38.

(*c*) Petronius Turpilianus succeeded to the government of Britain, A. U. C. 814, having just then closed the year of his consulship. Tacitus informs us, that Suetonius, having lost a few ships on the coast in a gale of wind, was, under that pretence, recalled by order of Nero. Turpilianus undertook no warlike enterprise, content to varnish his own inactivity with the name of peace. *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 39.

(*d*) The account of Trebellius Maximus, given by Tacitus in his History, differs a little from what is related in the passage before us. Being at variance with Roscius Cælius, an officer of a turbulent spirit, he was obliged to fly to Vitellius for protection, A. U. C. 822, A. D. 69. *Hist.* b. i. s. 60.

(*e*) Tacitus informs us that Trebellius Maximus was not graciously received by Vitellius, who was then on his way from Lyons into Italy. Vettius Bolanus, a follower in the train of Vitellius, was appointed governor of Britain, A. U. C. 822. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 65. We are told in this Tract, s. 8, that Agricola served in Britain under Bolanus, but repressed his military ardour, lest he

should appear desirous of rising superior to his general. In the passage before us, Bolanus seems to have passed his time in indolence; inactive against the enemy, and without authority in his camp. The adulation of Statius, cited in note (*a*) sect. 8, must, therefore, appear the more surprising. It is among the many instances, which show that poets excel most in fiction. There is still another passage in the poem already quoted, which leaves all truth at a distance. The poem is addressed to the son of Bolanus: the author asks him, "What a scene of glory will be found in Caledonia, when an old inhabitant of that ferocious island tells you, here your father gave his commands; on yonder turf he harangued the legions! Do you see those watch-towers, and those strong-built forts? Your father erected them, and drew these lines of circumvallation. Those trophies and those darts were by him dedicated to the god of war. The inscriptions are still legible. Behold this breast-plate; your father seized it from a British king."

Quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos!
Cum tibi longævus referet trucis incola terræ,
Hic suetus dare jura parens; hoc cespite turmas
Affari: nitidas speculas, castellaque longe
Aspicis? Ille dedit, cinxitque hæc mœnia fossâ:
Belligeris hæc dona deis, hæc tela dicavit.
Cernis adhuc titulos; hunc ipse vacantibus armis
Induit; hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno.

STATIUS, SILV. lib. v. 142.

When we find from history, that not one word of all this is true, we have only to regret, that a fine poet was obliged to prostitute his pen. Statius gave public recitals of his poems for profit. Juvenal says,

Haud tamen invideas vati, quem pulpita pascunt.

JUVENAL, sat. v.

SECTION XVII.

(*a*) Petilius Cerealis served, at first, in Britain, under Sueto-

nius Paulinus, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 32. He fought afterwards on the side of Vespasian against Vitellius, *Hist.* iii. s. 59 He also commanded the legions in the Lower Germany, and, after his victory over Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, was sent by Vespasian to conduct the affairs of Britain, A. U. C. 823, A. D. 70.

(*b*) The Brigantes, as mentioned in a former note, inhabited the counties of York, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire.

(*c*) Julius Frontinus had the chief command in Britain, A. U. C. 826. His treatises of *Stratagems* in four books, and another concerning the aqueducts of Rome, are said by *Brotier* and *La Bletterie*, to be still extant. He was one of the most eminent men of the age in which he lived; a lawyer of profound knowledge; a soldier formed both by theory and experience; and, above all, a man not more distinguished by his talents than his virtues. He died in the reign of Vespasian; and Pliny the consul says, he desired, by his last directions, that no monument should be raised to his memory, because, he said, it is a superfluous expense. Men will remember me, if by my conduct in life I have deserved it. *Impensa monumenti supervacua est. Memoria nostri durabit, si vitâ meruimus.* Pliny, lib. ix. epist. 19.

(*d*) The subjugation of the Silures, a fierce and obstinate enemy, gave the Romans quiet possession of the south of Britain. It will not be improper, in this place, to state in one view, and in regular succession, the several generals who commanded in Britain, from the first enterprise of Claudius, to the arrival of Agricola, who had the glory of subduing this island.

	A. U. C.
1. Aulus Plautius, sent by Claudius - - - - - -	796
2. Ostorius Scapula, sent by Claudius - - - - -	803
3. Aulus Didius, by Claudius - - - - - - -	804
4. Quintus Veranius, by Claudius - - - - - -	805
5. Suetonius Paulinus, by Nero - - - - - - -	814
6. Petronius Turpilianus, by Nero - - - - - -	815

7. Trebellius Maximus, by Nero - - - - - - 816
8. Vettius Bolanus, by Vitellius - - - - - - - 822
9. Petelius Cerealis, by Vespasian - - - - - - 824
10. Julius Frontinus, by Vespasian - - - - - - 826
11. Cnæus Julius Agricola, by Vespasian - - - - 831

Section XVIII.

(a) Our author hitherto, like a skilful biographer, has laid himself out to prepare the theatre of war, in which Agricola was to make so conspicuous a figure. His introduction is intimately connected with the ensuing narrative. From this place Agricola becomes the grand object of attention. He arrived in Britain in the summer, A. U. C. 831, A. D. 78.

(b) The Ordovices inhabited the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Caenarvon, Merioneth, and Montgomery, in North Wales.

(c) Suetonius Paulinus had conquered Anglesey; but the insurrection of the Britons, under Boadicea, did not leave him time to secure possession. As Agricola learned his first rudiments of war under that commander, he was, probably, engaged in the first invasion of the island. Having entirely subdued the Ordovicians, he formed a resolution to retake the place which had been snatched out of the conqueror's hands. Mr. Pennant mentions a pass into the vale of Clwyd, in the parish of Llanarmon, which, he says, is still called *Bwlch Agrikle*, probably from having been occupied by Agricola in his way to the isle of Mona. The invasion by Suetonius was seventeen years before the final reduction of the place under the conduct of Agricola.

(d) The elder Pliny calls the laurel the messenger of joy and victory, being always affixed by the Roman generals to their letters of dispatch after success against the enemy, and also to the spears and javelins of the soldiers. *Laurus Romanis præcipuè lætitiæ victoriarumque nuntia additur literis, et militum lanceis pilisque.* Pliny, lib. xv. s. 30. Persius, the satirist, meaning to sneer at

Caligula's mock triumph over the Germans, informs us that the emperor sent an account of his pretended victory in a laurelled letter.

> O bone, num ignoras? Missa est a Cæsare laurus
> Insignem ob cladem Germaniæ pubis.
>
> PERSIUS, sat. vi. s. 43.

SECTION XIX.

(*a*) Suetonius gives a similar account of Julius Cæsar. That great commander neither took notice of all the faults committed by his soldiers, nor proportioned the punishment to the nature of every offence. Desertion and mutiny were objects of his strict inquiry, and were sure to meet condign punishment. In other cases, he chose rather to connive, than know too much, *Delicta neque observabat omnia, neque pro modo exequebatur: sed desertorum et seditiosorum et inquisitor et punitor acerrimus, connivebat in cæteris.* Suit. *in Jul. Cæs.* s. 67.

(*b*) Brotier reads *frumenti et tributorum auctionem*, and understands an *increase of tributes*. Other editions have *exactionem*, meaning the severity with which they were exacted. It may be doubted whether the word *auctio* is ever used by the Latin writers for augmentation. In general it implies what is understood at present by an auction, and so the word is used by Juvenal; *commissa quod auctio vendit*. Some of the manuscripts in the Vatican are said to have *exactionem*, and that sense has been adopted in the translation.

(*c*) La Bletterie has a note which throws great light on this whole passage, relative to the tribunes and the collectors. In the first place, each province paid to the Romans a tribute of corn, which, in general, was paid in kind. In those provinces which had voluntarily submitted to the dominion of Rome, the farmer delivered the tenth part of his crop. This was what in modern phrase is called *tythe corn*, *frumentum decumanum*. Secondly, in the conquered provinces, such as Britian, the Romans exacted a

gross quantity, fixing the bushel at a stated rate. This was called *frumentum stipendiarium*. Thirdly, besides those two modes of collecting, it was further expected that the inhabitants of the several provinces should furnish, at a settled price, whatever was required for the use of government: this was called purchased corn, *frumentum emptum*. Fourthly, the provinces were further charged with a supply for the use of the proconsul, or governor; but the price was arbitrary, at the will and pleasure of the governor himself. This was not always paid in kind. A composition was made in money, and this was called corn at a valuation, *frumentum æstimatum*. Some of the provinces belonged immediately to the emperor; others were considered as the property of the state, and were, therefore, left to the management of the senate. In the imperial provinces, the tribute was carried to the fiscus, or the exchequer of the emperor; in the senatorian provinces, the levies belonged to the public, and were carried into the *ærarium*, the treasury of the senate. In the various modes of collecting the several imposts, gross abuses were often practised. As soon as the farmer carried in his crop, the revenue officers locked up his granary, and till the tribute was discharged, allowed no access to his own stock. He wished to have the business finally adjusted, but the collector was not at leisure. The farmer languished at the door of his barn, pining for the use of his own property; but that liberty was not granted, till with money, or an additional quantity of corn, he was obliged to bribe the officer inorder to get the account settled. In this manner he bought his own, and was afterwards compelled, at the requisition of the governor, to sell it at an inferior price. There was still another grievance: the farmer who lived at a distance from the quarters of the legions, was ordered to bring in his corn for the use of the army, and to deliver it on the spot assigned. The length of the way, and the expense of the conveyance obliged the natives to compound with the officers, who had the iniquity to enrich themselves by this mode of plunder. Whoever has a mind to see the exactions practised by the collectors of the Roman revenue, will find them stated at large in Cicero's third oration against Verres. We there read of an edict

whereby it was ordered, that no man should carry his corn to the granary, till he had made his agreement with the collector. The consequence was, that the officer prescribed his own terms; and the impatience of the farmer was sure to submit. *Exoritur peculiare edictum repentinum, ne quis frumentum de areâ tolleret antea, quam cum decumano pactus esset. Satis hæc magna vis ad inique pacis-cendum: malo enim plus dare, quam non mature ex areâ tollere In Verrem*, lib. iii. num. 36, 37. To state all the iniquities of the officers would lead to a great length. They are painted forth in glaring colours by the Roman orator; and if the collectors in Tacitus's time did not improve upon the example left by Verres, there can be no doubt but they practised all the iniquities of that notorious plunderer.

Section XX.

(*a*) This was the second summer after Agricola arrived in Britain, A. U. C. 832, A. D. 79. Vespasian died this year on the 24th of June: Agricola, from that time, continued to command in Britain during the reign of Titus.

(*b*) Many vestiges of Roman camps are still to be seen in various parts of England. Two, which were probably raised by Agricola, will be mentioned in the next note.

(*c*) Agricola, as appears from all circumstances, marched his army from Anglesey, which had surrendered to his arms, through North Wales, on his way to Caledonia. Tacitus does not directly say what road he pursued. This, however, is made sufficiently clear by Gordon in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, or his Journey through most parts of Scotland. He shows, in the first place, that the march in the second summer was as far as the Frith of Edinburgh, as it corresponds with his penetrating as far as the *Tay* in the third campaign. This is rendered still more evident by the æstuaries, or wide mouths of rivers, at the flood resembling arms of the sea, which Agricola passed after sounding the fordable places. Those friths Gordon observes, must be the *Dee*, near

Chester, the arm of the sea near Liverpool, *Ribble*, and the *Solloway Frith*, there being no other friths between *Anglesey* and *Scotland*. Gordon produces another reason to prove that the march was on the western side of England, namely, the encampments, the vestiges of which are still to be seen in the county of Annandale, and the neighbouring counties; the first at a place called *Burnswork Hill*, near the road from *Carlisle* to *Moffat;* the second, about a quarter of a mile from the kirk of *Middleby*, on the duke of Queensbury's estate. These two camps are accurately described by Gordon; and from all these vestiges of Roman works he infers, that Agricola's march was through the valley of *Dumfries*, every other road being impracticable for an army. The reader is referred to Gordon's elaborate argument, which he will find in the Itinerary, chap ii. That learned antiquarian has the merit of explaining what the laconic manner of Tacitus has left in some obscurity. His judicious observations will show that the march of the Roman army was through *Lancashire*, *Westmoreland*, and *Cumberland*, into *Annandale* in Scotland, and thence as far as *Edinburgh;* and that the whole country, as far as the isthmus between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*, was awed and held in check, during the following winter, by the victorious arms of a general, who made such a rapid progress, and disposed his forts and garrisons with so much judgment, that the enemy found them impregnable. Gordon assures us, that on the neck of land which separates the Forth and the Clyde, there are more remains of Roman works than in any other part of Scotland.

Section XXI.

(*a*) Gordon, in his Itinerary, has described the remaining vestiges of a number of forts on the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde, and also of a town, called Comelon, which, he says, is evidently a Roman work; the ruins of ancient houses are still to be seen. His third chapter is an elaborate dissertation on a Roman temple, now called Arthur's Oon, or Oven, near the Forth; which, he contends, was built by Agricola, during the winter after his second campaign in Scotland. Hector Boethius is of opi-

nion, that this round edifice was built by Vespasian, when he served in Britain; and that Aulus Plautius died in the town of *Comelon* in Scotland, which he calls *Camelodunum*. Buchanan explodes this opinion, and, upon the best conjecture he could form, concludes that *Arthur's Oon* was a structure dedicated to the god *Terminus*. But the conjectures of antiquarians, often ingenious, are too often uncertain. It must, however, be said, amidst this clash of opinions, that Gordon seems to have probability on his side, especially as we find in Tacitus, that Agricola, to allure the people from their barbarous manners, taught them to build houses, where they might begin to taste the pleasures of civilization. The state of man in savage life, and the policy of softening the uncultivated mind by the introduction of liberal arts, is finely touched by Cicero in his oration for Sextius; and Plutarch says, that the glory of Alexander did not consist in a number of camels loaded with gold: he either persuaded or compelled the savage tribes of Asia to unite in society, and live under the protection of laws; that was his true glory; and those who escaped his conquering sword, were not so happy as the vanquished. There was nothing to reclaim the former from barbarity; and the latter, even against their will, were tamed and polished.

(*b*) La Bletterie, in his note on this passage, is alarmed for the honour of his country. He doubts whether Agricola was a competent judge; in all events he appeals from the sentence. He wishes, however, that the palm of genius may be contended for by both nations; and that the rivalship between them, which has produced tragic events and scenes of blood, may, for the future, be changed into a literary contest, to enlighten the rest of Europe with sound philosophy, not with vain metaphysics, which, under the specious pretence of thinking profoundly, tend to nothing but the subversion of government and religion. La Bletterie does not disguise his national partiality: he will have it that learning passed from France into this country. In support of his position, he quotes the threadbare verse;

Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos.

Brotier is above the littleness of national prejudice. He says, it is wonderful that Agricola, in rude and savage times, should be able to foretel the genius of a country, which has since produced Bacon, Milton, and Newton, not to mention others of great and illustrious talents.

Section XXII.

(*a*) Agricola's third year was A. U. C. 833; A. D. 80.

(*b*) The river *Tay* issues out of *Loch-Tay* in *Breadalbin*, and running south-east, passes the town of Perth, and falls into the German ocean at Dundee, where it is called the Frith of Tay. Agricola's conquests were, of course, in Fifeshire and in Perthshire.

(*c*) The principal fort built by Agricola was at Ardoch in Perthshire, situated so as to command the entrances into two valleys, *Strathallan* and *Strathearn*. A description and plan of its remains, still in good preservation, are given by Mr. Pennant in his *Tour in Scotland*, 1772, part ii. p. 101. This fort, commanding two extensive valleys, seems to prove what Tacitus says, viz. that no general showed greater skill in the choice of advantageous situations.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) Agricola's fourth campaign was A. U. C. 834, A. D. 81. Titus died this year, on the thirteenth of September, in the forty-first year of his age; having merited, in a short reign of little more than two years, the love of the Roman people, and the applause of posterity. From the death of that lamented emperor, Agricola *was fallen on evil days*. He still pursued his conquests in Britain; but his virtues and his fame in arms rendered him obnoxious to the jealousy of Domitian, who beheld rising merit with a malignant eye.

(*b*) *Glota* or *Clota*, and *Bodotria*, were the names given by Ptolemy to those famous æstuaries, or arms of the sea. The *Clota* is now called Clyde, which rises in *Annandale*, and, after a wide

circuit, falls into the gulf of Dumbarton, on the western side of Scotland, opposite to the isle of Bute. The *Bodotria* of Ptolemy is the river Forth, which rises in *Monteith*, and, after describing a number of beautiful meanders, discharges itself, near Edinburgh, into an arm of the German Sea, called the *Frith of Forth*.

(*c*) The space between the Frith of Forth and the Clyde is not more than thirty miles over. Gordon's Itinerary gives a description of the ruins of a number of forts in a regular chain, within a small distance from each other, beginning at Dumbarton, and thence eastward to Arthur's Oven near the Frith of Forth. See the *Itinerary*, p. 20, 21.

(*d*) By means of these well-situated and well-garrisoned stations, the Caledonians were confined, in that northern part of the island, as it were in a peninsula. On the same neck of land, Lollius Urbicus, governor of Britain in the reign of Antonius Pius, erected a wall or rampart, extending from Old Kirkpatrick, on the Clyde, to the borders of the Forth; a space of thirty miles, defended by a chain of forts, all supposed to have been built on the site chosen by Agricola. Some vestiges of the wall are still to be seen. It is usually called Graham's Dike. Guthrie, in his Geographical Grammar, says, one of the greatest improvements for inland navigation is now (1771) carrying on, at a considerable expense, by a society of public-spirited gentlemen, for the purpose of joining the rivers Forth and Clyde; by which a communication will be opened between the east and west seas, to the immense advantage of the whole kingdom, as must be evident to every person who shall throw his eye upon the map of Scotland. *Geographical Grammar*, 4to edit.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) Agricola's fifth campaign was in the summer A. U. C. 835, A. D. 82.

(*b*) We are now to see Agricola penetrating further into North Britain; but the laconic style of the author does not distinctly tell us on which side of the country the attempt was made. From

the sequel, however, it is clear, that having driven the Caledonians beyond the isthmus between the Clyde and the Forth as it were into another island, the Roman general was determined to march against the nations to the north of the Clyde, in order to spread a general alarm, and make an impression on the west side of the country. For that purpose, Tacitus says, he crossed the æstuary, meaning the gulf of Dumbarton. The commentators are much divided about the construction of the words, *nave primâ transgressus; he sailed in the first ship.* Some of them will have it, that he embarked in the first ship of his fleet: but we have no account of a fleet in readiness for this expedition. The translation, therefore, has adopted the most natural and obvious sense. Agricola crossed the æstuary of the Clyde, in the first Roman vessel that was ever seen in those parts. His army, in the mean time, marched over the isthmus, probably near Dumbarton, and, making a rapid progress through Argyleshire, advanced to the sea-coast opposite to Ireland. It appears in the following section, that Agricola had no fleet till he ordered ships to be got in readiness for his sixth campaign.

(*c*) The terms in which La Bletterie expresses himself in his notes on this section, one might imagine were dictated in the heat of the late contest between Ireland and Great Britain. The French author says, "Ireland has more harbours and more convenient ports than any other country in Europe. England has but a small number. Ireland, if she could shake off the British yoke, and form an independent state, would ruin the British commerce; but, to her misfortune, England is too well convinced of this truth." The ruin of Britain would undoubtedly be agreeable to a French patriot; but the man who in his heart is a friend to both countries, may be allowed to express his wish, that, upon proper terms, both islands may be always united in interest. The combined valour of the two kingdoms will be, at all times, an overmatch for the maritime powers of Europe. Some of the historians of Ireland seem to be much offended with Tacitus, on account of the opinion here advanced; namely, that one legion, with a body of auxiliaries, would be sufficient for the conquest of Ireland; and

perhaps they are right. Courage has been, in every age, the distinguishing quality of that country. The Roman general would have found a people no less fierce and independent than the Caledonians; and it is probable, that, among the chieftains, there would have been many a GALGACUS to stand forth in the cause of liberty.

SECTION XXV.

(*a*) Agricola's sixth campaign was A. U. C. 836, A. D. 83; the second year of Domitian's reign.

(*b*) Agricola, in the third year of his expeditions, had penetrated, north of the Forth, as far as the Frith of Tay (see section xxii); but we are told by Tacitus, that the country was overrun, not conquered; nor was it sufficiently explored. And we find, that Agricola, dreading an insurrection of all the nations beyond the Frith of Forth, judged it right to man a fleet, in order to search the coasts and countries on the eastern side of Caledonia. Gordon, in his Itinerary, is of opinion, since no mention is made in the text of the return of those ships, that, after their survey of the coast, they remained either in some road or harbour in Fifeshire, or within the Frith of Tay, being the most commodious shelter from tempestuous weather. The war was now carried on in the counties of *Fife*, *Perth*, and *Angus*, if not farther.

(*c*) Traces of these forts and castles are still extant in *Fifeshire*, *Perth*, and *Strathearn*.

SECTION XXVI.

(*a*) This battle, Gordon the antiquarian thinks, was fought in the county of *Fife;* and he draws his conclusion from the appearance of a Roman camp still to be seen at a place called *Loch-Ore*, about two miles from *Loch-Leven*. The form of this camp, Gordon says, is nearest to a square, but in many parts so levelled and defaced, that he could not make a perfect draught of it. To the south of this camp there is a large morass, in which are daily dug up the roots of different trees, in such abundance as serves to

show that it was formerly a great wood; which renders it highly probable that the ninth legion was attacked in that very camp, since Tacitus tells us, that if the bogs and woods had not covered the flight of the Caledonians, the victory obtained by the Romans would have ended the war. We are further told, that near this place there is a small village, called the *Blair*; a word, in the old language, signifying *locus pugnæ*, the spot where a battle was fought. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 36.

(*b*) There were four gates to a Roman camp; one on each side of the circumference, accessible for the use of the baggage horses, and wide in case of a sally. The gates had their distinct names; *Prætoria*, *Decumana*, *Dextra*, and *Sinistra*.

(*c*) The marshes and forests that protected the Caledonians were, most probably, *Loch-Leven*, and the woods that grew around it, as mentioned in this section, note (*a*).

Section XXVII.

(*a*) All public resolutions were formed, among barbarians, at their carousing festivals in religious groves. It was in this manner that Civilis drew the Batavians and the Germans into a league against the Romans. See Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. s. 14.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) The Usipians inhabited the Duchy of Cleves, and other parts of Germany. See the *Manners of the Germans*, s. xxxii. note (*a*).

(*b*) The *Manipuli* were companies of foot, as the *Turmæ* were of the cavalry. A cohort consisted of sixty companies, ten in each, amounting in the whole to six hundred men. Each cohort was commanded by a centurion. Roman soldiers were intermixed with the Usipians, in order to instruct a body of auxiliaries in the art of war.

(*c*) Tacitus has not mentioned the place from which these daring adventurers put to sea. Dio relates the same enterprise, but

he also omits the port from which the voyage began. All we learn from that author, or rather from the abridgment of XIPHILIN, is, that certain soldiers, who had mutinied against their centurions, and put them to death, seized a vessel, and sailing, at the mercy of the winds and waves, along the western part of the island, landed, against their design, upon the coast, near one of the camps which the Romans had in the country. See Manning's Dion Cassius, v. ii. p. 62. Tacitus had an opportunity of being informed by Agricola, his father-in-law; and his account is, therefore, more circumstantial. From both historians it may be fairly collected, that the outset of this desperate voyage was either from some port in Galloway, or from Cantire in Argyleshire, where Agricola had stationed his garrisons. The deserters, in the course of their voyage, landed at various places, and suffered by famine and other disasters, till they reached the eastern coast, where, and where only, the Romans were stationed in different encampments.

(c) The adventurers, as stated in the last note, having either sailed northward of the Orcades, or through *Pentland Frith*, which divides those islands from the extremity of Scotland, reached the German Ocean; and thence, through want of skill in navigation, or driven by tempestuous weather, arrived at length in the Baltic (*Mare Suevicum*), and landed on the coast of the Suevians. Being considered as freebooters and pirates, their story gained no friends. The boldness of their enterprise found no admirers, and their sufferings excited no compassion. They were seized, first by the Suevi, between the *Vistula* and the *Elbe*. Those who escaped the Suevians, fell into the hands of the Frisians, between the Amisia (the Ems) and the Rhine. Being sold to slavery, many of them made their way to the Roman settlements on the west side of the Rhine, and there related their perils by sea and land.

It will not be altogether foreign to the purpose, and perhaps not unwelcome to the reader, if we observe, that, prior to the adventure of the Usipians, there was, in a former age, another enterprise, still more extraordinary. Pliny the elder relates the fact,

after Cornelius Nepos, who, in his account of a voyage to the North, says, that in the consulship of Quintus Metellus Celer, and Lucius Afranius (A. U. C. 694, before Christ 60), certain Indians, who had embarked on a commercial voyage, were cast away on the coast of Germany, and given as a present, by the king of the Suevians, to Metellus, who was at that time proconsular governor of Gaul. *Cornelius Nepos de septemtrionali circuitu tradit, Quinto Metello Celeri, Lucii Afranii in consulatu collegæ, sed tum Galliæ proconsuli, Indos a rege Suevorum dono datos, qui ex Indiâ commercii causâ navigantes, tempestatibus essent in Germaniam abrepti.* Pliny, lib. ii. s. 67. The work of Cornelius Nepos has not come down to us; and Pliny, as it seems, has abridged too much. The whole tract would have furnished a considerable event in the history of navigation. At present, we are left to conjecture, whether the Indian adventurers sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, through the Atlantic Ocean, and thence into the Northern Seas; or whether they made a voyage still more extraordinary, by passing the island of *Japan*, the coast of *Siberia*, *Kamchatska*, *Zembla* in the Frozen Ocean, and thence round *Lapland* and *Norway*, either into the Baltic or the German Ocean. In the former case, the passage from the East Indies was actually known long before the discovery by the Portuguese in the year 1497. In the second case, if they sailed along the coast of *China* and *Kamchatska*, the north-east passage, hitherto attempted in vain, was explored many centuries ago.

It may be proper to mention, that about the year 1770, a set of navigators from Japan were driven by tempestuous weather to the northern coast of Siberia, and having landed at *Kamchatska*, were conveyed to Petersburg, and there received by the Empress of Russia with the greatest humanity.

(*d*) This was the summer in the year of Rome 837, A. D. 84, when Agricola opened his seventh campaign.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) To ascertain the spot where the *Mons Grampius* or *Grampian Hill* stands, Gordon observes in his Itinerary, has employed

the antiquaries both of England and Scotland. Camden, and most of the English, in their commentaries on this passage, fix it at a place called *Grantsbain*; but where that is, Gordon says, he could not discover. The Scotch antiquaries, he observes, are much divided; some contending for the shire of *Angus*, others for the *Blair of Athol* in *Perthshire*, or *Ardoch* in *Strathallan*. After examining those different propositions, Gordon gives his opinion, that the *Mons Grampius*, mentioned by Tacitus, is in *Strathearn*, half a mile south of the Kirk of *Comerie*. His reasons, as well as they can be condensed in this note, are as follow:—In the first place, there is in Scotland a most remarkable ridge of mountains, called the GRAMPIAN HILLS, which divide the *Highlands* from the *Lowlands*; reaching from *Dumbarton* on the Frith of *Clyde* as far as *Aberdeen* on the German Ocean. The *Mons Grampius* in question is undoubtedly one of those Grampian hills; and that it was near the *Kirk of Comerie*, Gordon thinks evident from the following facts. Near *Comerie* he found a large extended plain, about a mile in breadth, and several miles in length; and on one part of the plain, a noble square Roman encampment, divided into two partitions, each surrounded with two *aggeres*, or ramparts, and between them a large *fossa*, or ditch, with four distinct entrances into the camp, analogous to those described by Josephus, when the Romans laid siege to Jerusalem. Gordon adds, that he calculated the number of men contained in the southmost camp, according to the allowance of ground made by Polybius for each foot-soldier, and was agreeably surprised to find it contained the precise number which Tacitus says (sect. XXXV.) Agricola had under his command at the battle of *Mons Grampius*, viz. 8000 auxiliaries; and in the other square, exactly 3000 horse. The plain is directly at the foot of the *Grampian hills;* and there are the *colles*, or rising grounds, on which the Caledonians were placed before the battle. Nor is it difficult, on viewing this ground, to guess at the place where the *covinarii*, or charioteers, wheeled about. Gordon adds one argument more, which he thinks decisive: the moor, on which the camp stands, is called to this day *Galdachan*, or *Galgachan*, *Ross-moor;* not that *Gal-*

gacus constructed the camp, but here he engaged Agricola's army; for which reason his name is left on the place. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 39 and 40.—It must not be dissembled, that Mr. Pennant, a very ingenious and entertaining traveller, has lately visited the same ground, and has given his reasons for dissenting from Mr. Gordon. What that gentleman advances must always merit attention. The camp, he says, which Gordon has described, lies between the river *Earn*, and the little stream called the *Ruchel*, on a plain too contracted for such a number of combatants as Tacitus says there was, to form and act in, or for their charioteers or cavalry to scour the field. He admits that there are several small hills near the greater, where the Britons might have ranged themselves before the battle. But the distance from the sea is, with Mr. Pennant, an insuperable argument against this being the spot; as we are expressly informed, that Agricola sent his fleet before, in order to distract and divide the enemy; and that he himself marched with his army, till he arrived at the Grampian mountain, where he found the Caledonians drawn up in force. Mr. Pennant says, from the whole account given by Tacitus, it should be supposed that the action was fought in an open country, at the foot of certain hills, not in a little plain amidst defiles, as the valleys about *Comerie* consist of. Pennant's *Tour*, 1772, part ii p. 96. It is not the design of this note to decide between these two opposite opinions; but, upon due consideration, it may be found that Mr. Pennant's arguments are far from being conclusive. The place, however, for a fair investigation will be, when Tacitus draws up both armies in order of battle. We shall then be able to form a more exact idea of the spot; and, perhaps, we shall have reason to accede to Gordon's opinion. See sect. XXXV. and note (*a*).

(*b*) In the chronicle of the kings of Scotland, *Galgacus* is called *Galdus*; of which name, and its etymology, Gordon gives the following account:—*Galgacus* was latinised by the Romans from two Highland appellations, viz. *Gald* and *Cachach;* the first, *Gald*, being the proper name, and the second an adjection to it, from the battles he had fought; it signifies the same as *prælio*sus;

Gald the fighter of battles; which kind of nick-name is still in use among the Highlanders. Thus the late Viscount *Dundee* was, by the Highlanders that followed him, called *John Du-Nan-Cach, Black-haired John who fights the battles:* and in like manner John Duke of Argyle was known among the Highlanders by the name of *John Roy-Nan-Cach, Red-haired John who fights the battles.* Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 40. In the speech ascribed to this gallant chieftain, we have a striking picture of Roman oppression. The various arts of those ambitious conquerors, and the vices of their government in the several provinces of the empire, are painted forth in glaring colours. The art of compressing in pathetic language, with precision and energy, all the topics that can inspire the heart of man with a generous love of liberty, is here displayed in full perfection. It may indeed be doubted, whether *Galgacus* spoke what Tacitus has put into his mouth; but that he harangued his men is highly probable. In those days no battle was fought without a speech from the general, to rouse and animate the valour of his army. We see the same custom among the ancient Germans, and we find it among the savages of America. In our times few or no speeches are made at the head of the line. The modern general has no occasion to be an orator: his artillery speaks for him. But since it is likely that *Galgacus* addressed his men, that probability is ground sufficient for the historian; and *Galgacus*, then upon the point of a decisive action, when all that was dear to him depended on the event, may be fairly allowed to have addressed his men in substance at least, if not in the manner here represented. The ferocity of a savage, whose bosom glowed with the love of liberty, gives warmth and spirit to the whole speech. Neither the Greek nor Roman page has any thing to compare with it. The critics have admired the speech of Porus to Alexander; but, excellent at it is, it shrinks and fades away before the Caledonian orator. Even the speech of Agricola, which follows immediately after it, is tame and feeble, when opposed to the ardour, the impetuosity, and the vehemence of the British chief. We see Tacitus exerting all his art to decorate the character of his father-in-law: but he had neither

the same vein of sentiment, nor the same generous love of liberty, to support the cause of an ambitious conqueror. In the harangue of *Galgacus*, the pleasure of the reader springs from two principles: he admires the enthusiasm of the brave Caledonian, and at the same time applauds the noble historian, who draws up a charge against the tyranny of his own countrymen, and generously lists on the side of liberty.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) The Trinobantes, or the people of Essex, joined the Icenians in the grand revolt under Boadicea. See this Tract, sect. xvi. and *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 31.

(*b*) This passage has occasioned much controversy among the commentators; but those gentlemen are often ingenious to no end but to perplex themselves. The text is susceptible of an easy and obvious construction; and it is this: we have been hitherto unsubdued, and therefore we are not now to taste of liberty for the first time; we have always enjoyed our rights; let us preserve them by our valour.

Section XXXII.

(*a*) In consequence of the military system of the Romans, the soldiers remained in a state of celibacy. Dio tells us, that the emperor Claudius, to relieve them from the strict severity of the laws, allowed them all the rights and privileges annexed to the married state. Severus owed the imperial dignity to the legions; and to mark his gratitude, gave them leave to marry, and, by that and other indulgences, relaxed, and well nigh ruined, the discipline of the army. Before that time, a Roman camp had no place of accommodation for women. See, in Duncan's Cæsar, a dissertation on the Roman art of war. That the Germans and other barbarians were inflamed with uncommon ardour by their women in the field of battle, has appeared in various instances throughout the Annals and History of Tacitus.

(*b*) The conquered provinces furnished auxiliaries, and the legions were often recruited by levies raised in distant parts of the

empire. Those soldiers were not interested in the cause of Rome: their native country was in different and remote places.

(*c*) The good sense, no less than the spirit, of the Caledonian warrior is seen in this remark. Livy has a similar passage. The plume and crest of the enemy can inflict no wound; the Roman javelin can pierce the painted shield; and the ranks of war, that display their glittering mantles, when attacked sword in hand, are soon discoloured with blood. *Non christas vulnera facere, et per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum; et candore tunicarum fulgentem aciem, ubi res ferro geratur, cruentari.* Livy, lib. x. s. 39.

(*d*) The Usipians were auxiliaries from Germany, engaged in the quarrels of Rome; but not feeling themselves interested in the cause, they determined to return to their own country, and with that design, committed themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves. See this Tract, s. 28.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) There is here a small mistake, the error perhaps of the copyist; as this, in fact, was Agricola's seventh campaign. In the speech that follows, the reader will see the colours of rhetoric employed, to flatter the soldier's pride, and decorate the lust of dominion with specious and seducing appearances.

(*b*) Under all former commanders, the scene of action was in that part of Britain called England. Statius, indeed, using his poetical licence, carries Bolanus as far as *Thulé*, and crowns his hero with laurels in the Highlands of Scotland. See sect. viii. note (*a*), and xvi. note (*e*). But Agricola was the first Roman general that carried his victorious arms into Caledonia, and reduced that whole country as far as the Frith of *Tay*.

(*c*) Livy has a similar sentiment. The soldiers, he says, fixed their eyes on their arms and the swords in their hands, which they

considered as their only hope. *Arma tantùm ferrumque in dextris, velut solas reliquias spei suæ, intuentes.* Lib. v. s. 42.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) An account of this attack, in which the legion, if Agricola had not arrived in time, would probably have been cut to pieces, is given in this Tract, sect. xxvi.

(*b*) Aulus Plautius undertook his expedition into Britain, A. U. C. 796. From that time to the battle now impending, one or two and forty years had elapsed; Agricola did not think an exact statement necessary; he was speaking to the passions, and therefore, used an oratorical amplification.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) We are now on the point of a great and decisive action. The motives that incite both armies have been displayed with energy. On one side, the liberty of a people is depending; on the other, the fate of the Roman army. The order in which the combatants were drawn up, is now presented to us, but with the usual brevity of Tacitus. All this preparation keeps the reader in suspense, and fills the mind with expectation. As Britons we feel for our ancestors, and as scholars we are dazzled by the glory of the Roman name. We have now before us the preparation for the *swelling scene.* The main body of the Caledonians took post on the acclivity of the Grampian mount; their advanced lines stood at the foot of the hill, and the ranks rose one above another, in regular order, to the summit. The charioteers and horsemen advanced on the open plain, and rushed to and fro with wild velocity. On the side of the Romans, the order of battle was as follows:—Eight thousand auxiliaries formed the centre; the cavalry, amounting to three thousand, took post in the wings: the legions were stationed in the rear, near the entrenchments, to act as occasion required, as a body of reserve; and, that the enemy might not be able to make an impression on the flank, the front lines of the army were extended to a considerable length. Brotier, in his

note on this passage, adds, that the spot where the battle was fought, was in *Strathearn*, near the *Kirk of Comerie:* for this he relies on the authority of Gordon. The camp, described in two divisions, one for the auxiliaries, and the other for the cavalry (see sect. xxix. note *a*), appears to him to be a circumstance of great weight, as indeed it must to every one who considers that the Romans seldom or never came to action till they had, in some convenient place, formed a camp, and thrown up their entrenchments, to secure their retreat. There were besides, as appears in Gordon's Itinerary, other camps in the adjacent country, from which Agricola drew together the main strength of his army. Mr. Pennant observes, that, according to Tacitus, the Caledonians were above thirty thousand strong, and could not act with effect in close and narrow defiles. See sect. xxix. note (*a*). But, as it should seem, the spot was chosen by Galgacus, with a view to draw the Romans into a contracted plain, and then pour down upon them from the high grounds, and the Grampian hill. On the other hand Agricola, who is celebrated for skill in choosing his ground, might also prefer a place where thirty thousand men could not at once attack an inferior army. In this it appears that he succeeded. We are told, that the enormous swords of the Caledonians were unfit for an engagement in a confined space; *in arcto pugnam non tolerabant:* and afterwards, when the charioteers rushed into the heat of the action, they were soon entangled among the inequalities of the ground; *inæqualibus locis hærebant*. The objection, therefore, to the narrowness of the field of battle, on which Mr. Pennant lays so much stress, seems to lose its force, when we find that the battle was actually fought in a place of no great extent, surrounded by a number of hills, besides the Grampian mountain, where the main body of the Caledonians lay in wait for an opportunity to rush down upon the Romans. As to the distance from the sea, which Mr. Pennant calls an insuperable argument, as Agricola sent forward his fleet to distract the enemy, it is by no means a decisive circumstance. In Agricola's sixth campaign (see sect. xxv.) Tacitus tells us, that the fleet and land forces proceeded in sight of each other. In the present expedition, that is not said to

have been the case. The Roman general might order his fleet to sail across the friths both of the *Tay* and the *Forth*, while he himself at the head of his army, marched in quest of the enemy, then actually assembled at the Grampian hill. In case of a defeat, the ships were, perhaps, in the Frith of *Tay* to receive the flying army. Upon the whole, it appears, from all circumstances of the battle, that the Caledonians, far from wishing to act in a wide-extended plain, chose a spot, where they were posted to advantage, on the hills. When at last they quitted their fastnesses, it is evident that they could not exert themselves with effect amidst the narrow defiles. Upon the whole, the controversy will not easily be decided: antiquarians are seldom willing to agree, and the Grampian hill is likely to continue a subject of contention. The reader who promises himself either pleasure or instruction from the inquiry, will do well to peruse the arguments of Gordon and Mr. Pennant, as stated by themselves. He will then be able to draw his own conclusion.

(*b*) From this passage it is evident, that while the Caledonians kept their post on the Grampian hill, and the adjacent heights, the plain was wide enough for the charioteers and cavalry; but, in the heat of the engagement, they were drawn into narrow passes, where they could no longer act with vigour.

Section XXXVI.

(*a*) These targets, in Latin *cetræ*, were made of oziers, or boards, covered over with leather. The Caledonians, who fought on this occasion, left the fashion of their armour, as well as an example of courage, to late posterity. The broad sword and target are well known to have been, in modern times, the peculiar arms of the Highlanders.

(*b*) The Batavians, after their revolt under Civilis, which ended A. U. C. 823, A. D. 70. (see *Hist.* b. v. s. 26), renewed their ancient friendship with the Romans. Several inscriptions on altars, having *Cohors prima Batavorum* engraved on them, have

been dug up in the north of England. Several others, commemorating the Tungrian cohorts, having been found, as may be seen in Gordon's Itinerary.

(*c*) Brotier observes, from Vegetius, b. i. s. 12, that the Britons fought with the edge of their sword, and cut and hewed the enemy. The Romans, on the contrary, made use of the point, and, in close engagement, had greatly the advantage.

(*d*) The British warrior in his chariot is here called *Covinarius*, the driver of a *covinus*. It has been already mentioned, that the chieftain, contrary to the practice of the Greeks, thought it a point of honour to guide the car, while other combatants from the same vehicle annoyed the enemy. See this Tract, s. xii. note (*a*). Some of the critics will have it, that the word *covinus* must have been coined by Tacitus, since it is not to be found in any other Latin writer: but they forget that Lucan has used it, and he wrote his Pharsalia before Tacitus was grown up to man's estate:

> Et docilis rector monstrati Belga Covini.
>
> Phars. lib. i. ver. 426.

The name used by Cæsar for the Britons' warlike chariot is Esseda. Their way of fighting in those vehicles, he tells us, is as follows:—They first drive round all parts of the lines, throwing their darts, and, by the very terror of their horses, and the rattling of their wheels, disordering the ranks of the enemy. When they have forced their way into the thick of the cavalry, they leap from their chariots, and fight on foot. Meanwhile the drivers retire a little way from the combat, and place themselves in such a manner as to favour the retreat of their comrades, should they be overpowered by the enemy. Thus they perform the part of nimble horsemen and stable infantry. By continual exercise they have arrived at such expertness, that in the most steep and difficult places, they can stop their horses at full stretch, turn them which way they please, run along the pole, rest on the harness, and with incredible agility recover their seat in the chariot. *Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. s. 33. Duncan's *Cæsar*, b. iv. s. 29.

Section XXXVII.

(*a*) Longinus has observed, that banishing copulatives is a great help to the grandeur of a sentence: when conjunctions are artfully discarded, the periods are poured along in such a manner that they seem to outstrip the thought of the speaker. He cites a passage in Xenophon as an example: closing their shields together, they were pushed, they fought, they slew, they were slain. In describing the rout of Catiline's army, Sallust says, they fled, they were followed, they were killed, they were taken—*Sequi, fugere, occidi, capi.* Tacitus saw the hurry, the force, the rapidity of the disjointed words in Sallust, and thought the passage worthy of imitation. Voltaire has endeavoured to show the wild disorder of a battle in the same manner:

Français, Anglais, Lorrains, que la fureur assemble,
Avançaient, combattaient, frappaient, mouraient ensemble.
Henriade, Chant. 6.

(*b*) Aulus Atticus was probably the præfect of a Tungrian cohort. An altar dedicated to the god *Mars*, by Quintus Florius Maternus, præfect of a Tungrian cohort, has been dug up in Scotland. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 76.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) This picture of rage and despair, of tenderness, fury, and the tumult of contending passions, has all the fine touches of a master who had studied human nature. It often happens, that in the last extremity of despair, the mind is fired with sudden courage. Rather than fall with tame resignation, it rouses all its force, and by one vigorous effort, endeavours to signalize itself even in ruin. Tacitus has said in another place, *Desperatione in audaciam accinguntur.* The Cimbrian women, when they saw their husbands defeated by Marius, acted with the most savage ferocity, and in their fury destroyed their own children. See the *Manners of the Germans*, sect. xxxvii.

(*b*) The Horestians are said, by some of the commentators, to

have inhabited the country now called *Angus*, on the north side of the *Tay*. Gordon, in his Itinerary, says that Agricola, after his victory, led back his army into the country of the *Horestii*, or *Angus*; for, as it is certain that Agricola in the third year of his expedition, had been there before, so it is natural to think he led his army to the place where his fleet was, which most probably was in the Frith of *Tay*. *Itinerary*, p. 40. But in this there seems to be some mistake. We are expressly told by Tacitus, that Agricola, in his third campaign, penetrated as far as the Frith of *Tay: Vastatis usque ad Taum* (*æstuario nomen est*) *nationibus*. Not a word is said of his proceeding farther. He erected forts and castles to bridle the natives during winter, and the business of his fourth campaign was to secure what he had overrun in the preceding summer. In the sixth summer, when all the northern Caledonians were in motion, it was the opinion of the principal officers that the most advisable measure would be to repass the Forth. Hence it is clear that Agricola was then in *Fifeshire*, and not in *Angus*; otherwise to repass the *Tay* would have been the advice. After the victory at the *Grampian Hill*, Agricola led back his army, and that was most probably into *Fifeshire*, where camps and forts had been erected. For these reasons it may be assumed, that the *Horestii* were the people of *Fifeshire*.

(*c*) This circumnavigation is not related with sufficient accuracy. Agricola heard of the bold adventure of the Usipians (see sect. xxviii.), and resolved to gain farther information; but the place from which his fleet set out on the voyage, is not mentioned. It was beyond all doubt, from the *Forth* or the *Tay*. Being with his army in *Fifeshire*, he could there, with all convenience, issue his orders. The expedition begun, he proceeded by slow marches towards the southern parts of Caledonia, and led his army into winter quarters.

(*d*) The fleet, in the mean time, sailed round the extremity of the island, and, having pursued the voyage along the western coast, and through the British Channel, arrived at *Sandwich*, called in

the text *Portus Trutulensis*, probably by an error of the copyist, as the real name is *Rutupensis*, or *Rutupinus*. So it is called by Ptolemy. Juvenal has

——————— Rutupinove edita fundo
Ostrea——————— Sat. iv. ver. 141.

This voyage, which ascertained that Britain is an island, was in a contrary direction to that of the Usipian deserters. The fleet set out from the *Forth* or *Tay* on the eastern coast, and, sailing thence round the northern, western, and southern coasts, arrived at the port of *Sandwich* in *Kent*, and proceeding along the eastern side of the island, returned without loss to its former station.

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) While Agricola was thus employed in extending the limits of the empire, and securing his conquests, as far as the neck of land between the *Forth* and the *Clyde*, by a chain of forts and garrisons, Domitian (A. U. C. 837. A. D. 84) went on his mock expedition into Germany, and returned without seeing the face of an enemy. Caligula had left him the precedent of a victory without a foe to conquer. In imitation of that brilliant example, Domitian purchased a number of slaves, whom he ordered to let their hair grow, and tinge it with yellow, that they might pass for German prisoners of war. See the account of Caligula in Suetonius, s. 47. See this tract, sect. xiii. and note (*c*).

(*b*) Pliny, in his Panegyric on Trajan, has given a striking picture of Domitian in his dark retreat. That savage beast was shut up as it were in a den, where he quaffed the blood of his relations; and when he came forth, it was to riot in the destruction of the best and most illustrious citizens. Dismay and terror obstructed his door; and they, who were excluded, were as much in danger as those that gained admittance. The tyrant was horrible to the sight, and his approach was dreadful: pride in his aspect; anger in his eye; a feminine whiteness over his whole body; and

in his countenance an air of arrogance, flushed with the deepest red. No man dared to approach him; none could speak to him; he remained in darkness brooding mischief, and never came forth from his solitude, but to make a worse solitude by the destruction of eminent men. *Illa immanissima bellua, velut quodam specu inclusa, nunc propinquorum sanguinem lamberet; nunc se ad clarissimorum civium strages cædesque proferret. Obversabantur foribus horror et minæ, et par metus admissis et exclusis. Ad hoc ipse occursu quoque visuque terribilis: superbia in fronte, ira in oculis, fœmineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa. Non adire quisquam, non alloqui audebat, tenebras semper secretumque captantem; nec unquam ex solitudine sua prodeuntem, nisi ut solitudinem faceret. Panegyr. Traj.* sect. xlviii. In the beginning of his reign his love of solitude was rather more innocent; but still it was a prelude to future cruelty. He passed an hour every day in private, wholly employed in catching flies, and fixing them on the sharp point of a bodkin. Hence, when somebody inquired, *whether any one was with the emperor*, Vibius Crispus aptly and pleasantly answered, *Not so much as a fly. Ut cuidam interroganti,* ESSETNE QUISQUAM INTUS CUM CÆSARE, *non absurde responsum sit a Vibio Crispo,* NE MUSCA QUIDEM. Suetonius, in *Domitiano,* sect. iii.

SECTION XL.

(*a*) A real triumph, after the downfal of the republic, was reserved for the emperor only. The title of IMPERATOR was assumed by the prince. At first it meant no more than GENERAL IN CHIEF; but, as all power was centered in him, the word, in process of time, implied what is now understood by the appellation of EMPEROR. Augustus Cæsar was not in haste to arrogate to himself the sole right of enjoying the honour of a triumph: with the address of an able politician, he resolved to make it of little value, and, for that purpose, he granted a triumph to no less than thirty different persons. At length, in the year of Rome 740, that military reward was abolished altogether. Augustus was indebted for the opportunity to the art of Agrippa, who, by

a complete victory over the people of Bosphorus, had reinstated Polemon on his throne, and refused the triumph, which was decreed by the senate. This was a stroke of courtly compliance with the wishes of his master. From that time, Dio says, the commanders of armies followed the example of Agrippa; and no Roman, however eminent for his military talents, enjoyed any higher distinction than that of triumphal ornaments, which were, the general's splendid garment, a statue in the forum crowned with laurels, and other *insignia* formerly allowed in a real triumph. The commanders of armies, after gaining a victory, ceased to address their letters to the senate. Like Agrippa, they were willing to pay their court to Augustus. They renounced their claim, and, in this manner, the pomp of a triumph became annexed to the imperial prerogative. See *Annals*, b. iv. s. 23; b. xv. s. 72; *Hist.* b. i. s. 79.

(*b*) The straits of *Dover*.

(*c*) Agricola resigned the command A. U. C. 838, A. D. 85. The officer who succeeded him is supposed to be Sallustius Lucullus of whom history has recorded nothing more than that he invented lances of a new form, and gave them the name of *Lucullean*. This gave umbrage to Domitian, and, for that reason, the tyrant ordered him to be put to death. Sueton. *Life of Domitian*, sect. x.

(*d*) La Bletterie observes that the modest deportment of Agricola calls to mind the character of Marshal Turenne, and this, he says, is not the only prominent feature in which the two heroes resemble each other In the funeral orations, commemorating the French general, many of those analogies are pointed out.

Section XLI.

(*a*) Among artful and insidious courtiers, those, who are lavish of praise, are often the most inveterate enemies. Tacitus, in another part of his work, gives the reason: under a bad prince, a great name is as dangerous as a bad one. *Nec minus periculum ex*

magnâ famâ, quam ex malâ. Praise a man, in the presence of a tyrant, for his popular virtues, and his ruin is sure to follow. Virgil knew that praise, under a specious disguise, is an envenomed enemy.

> Et si ultra placitum laudarit, bacchare frontem
> Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.
>
> PAST. vii. 27, 28.

> Or if he blast my muse with envious praise,
> Then fence my brows with amulets of bays;
> Lest his ill arts, or his malicious tongue,
> Should poison, or bewitch, my growing song.
>
> DRYDEN'S VIRGIL.

The malignity with which praise is bestowed, in order to render an eminent character obnoxious to the prince, who lives in dread of superior virtue, has been the stratagem of ill-designing men in all ages. The emperor Julian, in a letter to his friend, says, that the insidious art of undermining by counterfeit praise is chiefly known in the palace of princes; where the politic courtier hates, while he commends; and stabs you with his panegyric beyond the malice of your most bitter enemies. *Conscii sumus invicem ambo, non uti nos eâ aulicâ dissimulatione, quam arbitror te hactenus expertum esse solùm in dominantium regiâ; juxta quam* LAUDANTES *tali odio prosequuntur eos, quos celebrant, quale neque exercent infensissimi hostes.* See the emperor Julian's 12th Ep. to Basilius.

(*b*) These various disasters happened in the years of Rome 840 and 841. Oppius Sabinus, a man of consular rank, was defeated by the Dacians in Mæsia; the legions under him were put to the sword; the general's head was cut off, and exhibited on a pole, a public spectacle for the barbarians. In another engagement with the same enemy, Cornelius Fuscus met with a total defeat. In Germany and Pannonia various battles were fought with doubtful success, and great effusion of Roman blood. Sue-

tonius has recorded these events, but in his usual style, content with a dry statement of facts. See the Life of Domitian, sect. vi.

(*c*) The Rhine and the Danube were, at this time, the boundaries that divided Germany from the Roman empire.

Section XLII.

(*a*) In the several provinces which were left by Augustus under the management of the senate, the governors, according to ancient usage, were changed at the end of the year. The senators, who had five years before discharged the office either of consul or prætor, had a right to be candidates for the employment. The senate named a competent number, and the persons so elected drew lots for their provinces; and, whether consuls or prætors, they were, without distinction, called by the general title of proconsular governors.

(*b*) We know nothing of Civica but what is here mentioned by Tacitus, and also by Suetonius, who informs us, that his name was Civica Cerealis, a man of consular rank, and governor of Asia. Domitian charged him with a conspiracy against the state, and under that pretence put him to death. Suetonius, *Life of Domitian*, sect. x.

(*c*) Under the worst of the emperors, men were obliged, by a refinement in tyranny, to receive injuries, and to be grateful for them. Tacitus mentions several persons, who were injured in their rights, and yet, being inured to slavery, they returned thanks to Vitellius. *Actæque insuper Vitellio gratiæ, consuetudine servitii.* *Hist.* lib. ii. s. 71. Otway has made *Chamont* express himself on this subject with a spirit of indignation.

> I have not slavish temperance enough;
> To wait a great man's heels, and watch his smiles;
> Bear an ill office done me to my face,
> And thank the lord that wrong'd me for his favour.

The abject spirit, with which men submitted to the tyranny of Caligula, is emphatically described by Seneca. That emperor, he says, received thanks from those whose children he put to death, or whose property he confiscated. *Agebant gratias et quorum liberi occisi, et quorum bona ablata erant. De Tranquill. Animi*, sect. xiv. The same author relates the answer of an old courtier, when he was asked how he arrived at a thing so uncommon among the attendants of princes as a sound old age? It was, replied the veteran, by receiving injuries, and returning thanks. *Notissima vox est ejus, qui in cultu regum consenuerat, cum illum quidam interrogaret, quomodo rarissimam rem in aulâ consecutus esset, senectutem? Injurias, inquit, accipiendo, et gratias agendo. De Irâ*, lib. ii. sect. 3. In opposition to this servile spirit, Lipsius, in a strain of rapture, offers up his adoration to Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio, for the magnanimity with which they braved the tyrant's cruelty. *Sed vos magnæ animæ mihi salvete! quos jure miramur, colimus, factis dictisque sapientes, et legitimos robustæ porticus alumnos.*

(*d*) In the time of the old republic, the governors of provinces served their country without any salary annexed to their office. It was seen, however, by Augustus, that, by an unprofitable and gratuitous service, men were exposed to various temptations; and, accordingly, that emperor, to leave avarice and rapacity without an excuse, established a regular allowance for each different province. The governors appointed by the senate were paid out of the *ærarium*, or public treasury; and the emperor defrayed the charge of the administration in the imperial provinces, out of the *fiscus*, or his own private coffers. If, for good and sufficient reason, a citizen of eminence chose to decline the fatigue of a proconsular government, it was usual, on accepting his resignation, to allow him the income of his office. The etymology of the word salary is ingeniously explained by the elder Pliny. Human nature, he says, can not exist without salt, which is so much an element of life, that, passing from bodily sensation, it is now become a

metaphorical term for the pleasures of the mind. Salt is agreeable to the palate, and is, therefore, transferred to the mental taste. By that name we call whatever is pleasing to our intellectual faculties; whatever is poignant, gay, lively, or agreeable. The word is still more extensive: it is used to signify civil honours; and the pay of officers, and the governors of provinces, is called their SALARY. *Ita herculè vita humanior sine sale nequit degere; adeoque necessarium elementum est, ut transierit ad voluptates animi quoque. Nam ita sales appellantur; omnisque vitæ lepos, et summa hilaritas, laborumque requies non alio magis vocabulo constat. Honoribus etiam militiæque interponitur,* SALARIIS *inde dictis.* Plin. lib. XXXI. s. 7.

(*e*) Seneca has the same sentiment, and Tacitus seems to have adopted the very words. *Hoc habent pessimum animi magnâ fortunâ insolentes: quos læserunt, et oderunt. De Irâ*, lib. ii. 33.

(*f*) Hatred is always a dark, a covered, and a lurking passion; the more concealed, the more implacable: so it was with Domitian, and we have seen the same feature of character in Tiberius. In a sudden transport of passion he broke out against Haterius; but, harbouring deep resentment against Scaurus, he let him pass in sullen silence. *Annals*, b. i. s. 13. And again, he laid up the seeds of resentment, which were to grow to maturity and shoot forth with large increase at a future day. *Odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret. Annals*, b. i. s. 69.

SECTION XLIII.

(*a*) A Greek epigram, written by Antiphilus of Byzantium, to the memory of a person of the name of Agricola, is still extant. The learned refer it to the great man who is the subject of the present work. The poet addresses himself to the fountains, and desires to know, what has dried up their waters? The answer is, We have wept for Agricola; and the stream, which before was limpid, is now absorbed by his ashes.

Κρηναῖαι λιβάδες, τι πεφεύγατε; πῦ τόσον ὕδωρ;
Τίς φλὲξ ἀενάους ἔσβεσεν ἀελίου;
Δάκρυσιν Ἀγρικόλα τετρίμμεθα; πᾶν δ' ὅσον ἡμῖν
Ἦν ποτε, νῦν κόνις διψὰς ἔχει σποδιή.

ANTHOLOGIA, lib. i. tit. 37.

Grotius and La Bletterie have given their versions of this little poem. It may be some amusement to compare them, and therefore, without apology both shall have their place.

Quo, fontis latices, quo copia vestra recessit?
Perpetuas soliis quis calor hausit aquas?
Agricolæ luctu consumitur: illius, ante
Humidâ, nunc fiunt pulverulenta, siti,

GROTIUS.

Fontani latices, quo pristina copia cessit?
Dicite, quis liquidas sol populavit opes?
Agricolam flendo defecimus, et quod aquarum
Hic erat, extincti nunc habet omne cinis.

LA BLETTERIE.

(*b*) From the manner in which Tacitus states this charge, it may be inferred that he gave no credit to it; and yet Dio does not hesitate to confirm the story. Suetonius is silent on the subject. But the Greek historian is often bold in assertion, and frequently deficient in point of truth, or historical evidence. If we believe him, Agricola, after his return from the conquest of Britain, passed the remainder of his days in distress and poverty: but Tacitus, on the contrary, assures us, that, though he did not possess immoderate wealth, he enjoyed a decent affluence. The Roman historian had the best means of information.

SECTION XLIV.

(*a*) There seems, in this place, to be some mistake, not, however, imputable to Tacitus, but, more probably, to the transcrib-

ers, who in their manuscript might easily write LVI. instead of LIV. Caligula's third consulship was A. U. C. 793, A D. 40. Agricola was born on the thirteenth of June in that year: he died on the 10th of the calends of September; that is the 23d of August, in the consulship of Pompeius Collega and Cornelius Priscus, A. U. C. 846, A. D. 93. According to this account, Agricola, on the 13th of June, A. U. C. 846, entered on the fifty-fourth year of his age, and died in the month of August following. It is, therefore, probable, that the copyists, as already observed, inserted in their manuscript FIFTY-SIX for FIFTY-FOUR. This supposition admitted, Tacitus, who, in a matter of near concern, was not likely to be guilty of an error in his calculation, may be rightly understood and the commentators will be freed from all their difficulties. The character that follows is a miniature picture by a masterly hand. Cornelius Nepos has a passage not unlike what is said of Agricola: when strangers beheld Agesilaus, they were tempted to despise him, but those, who were acquainted with his virtues, thought they could never admire him enough. *Ignoti faciem ejus cum intuerentur, contemnebant. Qui autem virtutem noverant, non poterant admirari satis.* The difference is, Agricola was not despised by strangers; he had all the exteriors of a good man: but they who expected to find a form and stature adequate to his fame in arms, were disappointed; though willing to believe him a great, as well as a good man. The same thing happened to Alexander: Thalestris surveyed him with an undaunted countenance, thinking his figure by no means proportioned to his wide extended fame. *Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famæ parem oculis perlustrans.* The historian gives the reason: barbarians judge of men by their outward appearance, and think none capable of great exploits, but those whom nature has distinguished by the graces and the dignity of their figure. *Quippe hominibus barbaris ex corporum majestate veneratio est, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia specie natura dignata est. Quintus Curtius*, lib. vi. s. 13.

(*b*) From the passage before us there is reason to conclude, that this Tract was published, when Trajan was in possession of the imperial dignity. See the Introduction of these Notes.

(*c*) Seneca gives the same account of Caligula; a man who meditated the destruction of the whole senate, who wished that the Roman people had but one neck, that he might glut his love of blood at a single stroke. *Homo qui de toto senatu trucidando cogitabat; qui optabat, ut populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet, ut scelera sua tot locis ac temporibus diducta, in unum ictum et unam diem cogeret. De Irâ*, lib. iii. s. 19. On the subject of Domitian's cruelty, Juvenal breaks out with his usual indignation. He represents the emperor, at a cabinet council in his Alban villa, debating with his courtiers how an immense turbot was to be dressed. The poet concludes with wishing that the emperor had passed his days in that despicable manner, not in the slaughter of the best men in Rome.

> Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
> Tempora sævitiæ, claras quibus abstulit urbi
> Illustresque animas impunè, et vindice nullo:
> Sed periit, postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
> Cœperat: hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti.
>
> SAT. iv. ver. 150.

> What folly this! but, oh that all the rest
> Of his dire reign had thus been spent in jest:
> And all that time such trifles had employ'd,
> In which so many nobles he destroy'd!
> He safe, they unreveng'd, to the disgrace
> Of the surviving, tame, patrician race.
> But when he dreadful to the rabble grew,
> Him, who so many lords had slain, they slew.
>
> DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

SECTION XLV.

(*a*) In a short time after the death of Agricola, towards the end of the year of Rome 846, the rage of Domitian broke out with collected violence, and like a tempest swept away numbers of both sexes, all distinguished by their virtues no less than by

their illustrious rank. The senate-house was surrounded by the prætorian guards, the fathers sat amidst swords and javelins, and the will of the tyrant was a law. See this Tract, sect. ii. note (*b*). Suetonius, in the Life of Domitian, sect. x. says, that many of the senate fell a sacrifice, and among them several of consular rank. We find in the list Sallustius Lucullus, who has been mentioned in note (*c*), sect. xl.; and Cerealis Civica, for whom see sect. xlii. and note (*b*). Salvidienus Orfitus was sent into exile and there put to death by order of Domitian. Acilius Glabrio suffered for an extraordinary reason. In the year of his consulship, the emperor, without any respect for the dignity of a man then actually exercising the functions of the first office in the state, ordered him to enter the list in the public spectacles, and fight a lion for the diversion of the populace. The consul had the address to kill the ferocious beast; but, as he, who could conquer a lion, might slay a tyrant, he was banished, and put to death. Ælius Lamia, a man descended from an illustrious family, perished, as Suetonius informs us, on account of some innocent strokes of wit and pleasantry, that fell from him before Domitian obtained the sovereignty; *ob suspiciosos quidem, verum veteres, et innoxios jocos.* Salvinus Cocceianus was nephew to Otho. When that emperor saw his affairs ruined, and was resolved to end his days, his advice to his nephew was, Remember that Otho was your uncle; but do not remember it too much. *Ne patruum sibi Othonem fuisse aut oblivisceretur unquam, aut nimium meminisset.* *Hist.* lib. ii. s. 48. Under a tyrant like Domitian, to seem to forget would have been true policy; but the nephew celebrated the birth-day of his uncle, and that was a state-crime. Metius Pomposianus had procured geographical charts of all the nations then known, and carried about him the speeches of kings and generals, extracted from Livy. For this conduct he was banished to an island, and there destroyed. Herennius Senecio, for the praises of Helvidius Priscus, and Arulenus Rusticus, for that of Pætus Thrasea, were victims to the insatiate cruelty of the tyrant. See this Tract, s. ii. and notes (*a*) and (*b*). Besides others of inferior note, Flavius Clemens,

a near relation of the emperor, and jointly consul with him, A. U. C. 848, A. D. 95, was condemned, though a man, as Suetonius has it, contemptible for his sluggish indolence; *contemptissimæ inertiæ*. Dio assigns the reason: he was accused of atheism, like many others who had embraced the Jewish religion. In the Pagan style of that age, the double charge of atheism and Judaism implied that Clemens renounced the gods of Rome for the Christian religion. In this general massacre the female sex did not escape. Arria, the widow of Pætus Thrasea; Fannia, the widow of Helvidius Priscus; and Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Flavius Clemens, were driven into banishment. That Agricola did not live to see the calamities of his country, was some consolation to Tacitus, who, it should seem, had his eye on a fine passage in which Cicero makes a similar reflection on the death of Crassus, the celebrated orator. His death, he says, was a sore affliction to his family, a wound to the commonwealth, and matter of grief to all good men. But the times that followed were such, that his death may be called a blessing sent down by the special favour of the gods. He did not live to see Italy involved in a general war; the senate rent and torn by factions, the first men in the state perpetrating the worst of crimes; his daughter left disconsolate; her husband driven into exile; the flight of Marius, his return to Rome, and the slaughter that followed. *Fuit hoc luctuosum suis, acerbum patriæ, grave bonis omnibus. Sed ii tamen rempublicam casus secuti sunt, ut mihi non erepta Lucio Crasso a diis immortalibus vita, sed donata mors esse videatur. Non vidit flagrantem bello Italiam, non ardentem invidia senatum, non sceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos, non luctum filiæ, non exilium generi, non acerbissimam Caii Marii fugam, non illam post reditum ejus cædem omnium crudelissimam.* Cicero *De Oratore*, lib. iii. s. 8

(*b*) Metius Carus was one of the tribe of informers: it was he that conducted the prosecution against Senecio; see this Tract, sect. ii. note (*b*). Pliny, the consul, has preserved this man for the execration of posterity. He tells us, that, when Regulus, another notorious prosecutor, inveighed in open court against the memory

of Senecio, this fellow had the impudence to stand up, and demand of Regulus, *What have you to do with my dead men? Do I disturb the ashes of Crassus or Camerinus, whom you accused in Nero's reign? Lacerat Herennium Senecionem tam intemperanter, ut dixerit ei Metius Carus, Quid tibi cum meis mortuis? Numquid ego aut Crasso aut Camerino molestus sum?* Plin. lib. i. epist. 5. Carus has not escaped the indignation of Juvenal:

> Causidici nova cum veniat lectica Matthonis,
> Plena ipso; et post hunc magni delator amici,
> Et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa,
> Quod superest: quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat
> Carus. Juv. Sat. i. ver. 32.

> When pleading Matho, borne abroad for air,
> With his fat paunch fills his new-fashion'd chair;
> And after him the wretch, in pomp convey'd,
> Whose evidence his noble friend betray'd;
> Whom Massa calls the terror of the age,
> And even Carus bribes away his rage.

During the life of Agricola, we are told by Tacitus that Metius Carus had gained but one victory. It seems, however, that he continued to flourish in his iniquity till the reign of Nerva, when the virtue of that emperor reformed all abuses, and, by a just and wise administration, established the peace and good order of society.

(c) The exact name of this man was Catullus Messalinus. Pliny the younger has given his portrait. He says, that Nerva, the emperor, gave a supper to a select number of friends, and that Veiento (an informer in Domitian's time) was admitted to be one of the party. The discourse turned upon Catullus Messalinus, who, being blind, added to that misfortune a cruel disposition. He was void of fear, of shame, and pity, and therefore Domitian made use of him as one of his instruments against every man of worth. All who were at table talked of the sanguinary councils of this abandoned wretch: Nerva asked, *What think you*

would be his case, were he now alive? Mauricus (looking at Veiento) replied, *He would sup with us. Cœnabat Nerva cum paucis: Veiento proximus, atque etiam in sinu recumbebat. Dixi omnia, cum hominem nominavi. Incidit sermo de* CATULLO MESSALINO, *qui luminibus orbatus, ingenio sævo mala cæcitatis addiderat. Non verebatur, non erubescebat, non miserebatur. Sæpius a Domitiano non secus ac tela, quæ et ipsa cæca et improvida feruntur, in optimum quemque contorquebatur. De hujus nequitiâ sanguinariisque sententiis in commune omnes super cœnam loquebantur. Tum ipse imperator,* QUID PUTAMUS PASSURUM FUISSE, SI VIVERET? *Et Mauricus,* NOBISCUM COENARET. Lib. iv. ep. 22. Juvenal has embalmed this man for posterity. He describes him as one of Domitian's council, sitting in deep debate on the important subject of the prodigious turbot, which had been presented to the emperor. Though blind, his admiration of the fish rose to ecstacy: he turned to the left, when it lay on his right, and gave his advice with the solemn wisdom of a privy connsellor.

Et cum mortifero veniens Veiento CATULLO,
Qui nunquam visæ flagrabat amore puellæ,
Grande, et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
Cæcus adulator dirusque a ponte satelles,
Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes,
Blandaque devexæ jactaret basia rhedæ.

JUVEN. SAT. iv.

Cunning Veiento next, and by his side
Bloody CATULLUS leaning on his guide;
Decrepid, yet a furious lover he,
And deeply smit with charms he could not see:
A monster, that even this worst age outvies,
Conspicuous, and above the common size;
A blind, base flatt'rer, from some bridge or gate
Rais'd to a murd'ring minister of state;
Deserving still to beg upon the road,
And bless each passing wagon, and its load.

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

The place, where CATULLUS MESSALINUS attended Domitian in

council; was a castle near the ancient Alba (now *Albano*), about twelve miles from Rome. Juvenal says,

> ——— Albanum dux magnus in arcem
> Traxerat attonitos. ———

It was in that retreat that Messalinus, at first, gave his advice: he was afterwards heard in the senate.

(*d*) Bæbius Massa took up the trade of an informer, and rose to eminence in guilt; but, at the time of Agricola's death, he was under a prosecution for rapine and extortion in the province of Bætica in Spain. Pliny the younger and his friend Herennius Senecio were appointed by the senate to conduct the cause in behalf of the province. Massa was found guilty, and his goods were ordered to be secured. It appeared soon after that the consuls were willing to listen to petitions on the part of Massa. Senecio was alarmed. He suspected an intended embezzlement of the culprit's effects, and, to prevent it, desired Pliny to join him in an application to the consuls. Pliny complied: they both attended the consuls. When they had urged all that was proper on the occasion, Massa thought himself aggrieved by the supererogatory zeal of Senecio, and, to revenge himself, joined in the clamour against Senecio for writing the panegyric of Helvidius Priscus. Pliny relates the transaction to his friend Tacitus in the following manner: *Dederat me Senatus cum Herennio Senecione advocatum provinciæ Bæticæ contra Bæbium Massam; damnatoque Massâ, censuerat ut bona ejus publicè custodirentur. Senecio, cum explorasset consules postulationibus vacaturos, convenit me, et quâ concordiâ, inquit, injunctam nobis accusationem executi sumus, hac adeamus consules, petamusque ne bona dissipari sinant, quorum esse in custodiâ debent. Tum ego, si fixum tibi istud ac deliberatum, sequar te, ut si quæ ex hoc invidia, non tua tantum sit. Venimus ad consules: dicit Senecio, quæ res ferebat: aliqua subjungo. Vixdum conticueramus; et Massa, questus Senecionem non advocati fidem sed inimici amaritudinem implesse, impietatis reum postulat.* Pliny,

lib. vii. epist. 33. It was the wish of Pliny to have the facts inserted in the history of Domitian, which Tacitus was probably writing; but the work is lost, and Domitian has escaped the vengeance of history. See in this Tract, sect. ii. note (*b*). Tacitus says that Massa was a pernicious enemy to all good men, and the cause of many calamities with which the public was sorely grieved. *Hist.* b. iv. s. 50. Martial says of Hermogenes, a fellow that pilfered wherever he was admitted, that he did not steal more napkins than Massa did pieces of gold.

> Hermogenes tantus mapparum, Pontice, fur est,
> Quantus nummorum vix, puto, Massa fuit.
>
> Lib. xii. epig. 29.

(*e*) The reader is not to imagine that this relates to Helvidius Priscus, who was banished, and murdered in exile, under the emperor Vespasian. See this Tract, sect. ii. note *b*). If the apology which Suetonius (in Vespas. s. 15.) makes for the conduct of Vespasian, be founded in truth, it is happy for the memory of the emperor: if otherwise, Vespasian, by his dissimulation, paid a compliment to virtue. Elizabeth played the same card in the execution of Queen Mary. The Helvidius mentioned in this place by Tacitus, was the son of the great and good man, so often celebrated by Tacitus. See his character, *Hist.* b. iv. s. 5. See also this Tract. sect. ii. note (*b*). Suetonius says, Domitian destroyed Helvidius the son, because, in a dramatic piece, called PARIS and OENONE, he threw out a sarcastic reflection on the divorce of the emperor. Sueton. *in Domit.* s. 10. Publicius Certus was the person who undertook the accusation of Helvidius the son, in the reign of Domitian, A. U. C. 847, A. D. 94. Pliny the younger relates the proceeding with indignation. He says a great friendship subsisted between him and Helvidius, the son; as great as he could cultivate with a person, who, in dread of those dangerous times, endeavoured, by living in obscurity and retirement, to conceal his excellent character, and no less remarkable virtues. And, besides, among the many flagitious acts of those deplorable times nothing appeared to him more atrocious, than

that a senator, in the senate, should lay hands upon a senator; a prætor, upon a man of consular dignity; a judge, upon a person accused. *Porro inter multa scelera multorum, nullum atrocius videbatur, quam quod in senatu, senator senatori, prætorius consulari, reo judex manus intulisset.* Lib. ix ep. 13. This explains what Tacitus means, when he says, *our own hands led Helvidius to prison.* As the fathers suffered this indignity, Tacitus (who was himself a senator) oratorically says the whole order did it; our hands dragged him to prison. It may be proper to add, that Pliny, as soon as Domitian was put to death, determined to revenge the cause of his injured friend. With that intent, in the very beginning of Nerva's reign, he entered the senate, and there brought forward his charge against Publicius Certus. The whole assembly was thrown into an uproar, and Pliny was, for some time, prevented from pursuing the thread of his speech. In the modern phrase, he was *called to order* by the consul. When it came regularly to his turn he renewed the charge, and by his eloquence, wrought such a wonderful change of sentiment in the minds of the fathers, that he carried his point, which was to hinder Certus from enjoying the honour of the consulship, to which he then stood next in succession, for the year of 851, A. D. 98. Pliny's accusation was in 97. The effect was answerable to the wish of the public-spirited orator; another consul was appointed in the room of CERTUS, who, in a short time after, was seized with his last illness, and died, according to the report of the time, crying out in his delirious fits, that he saw Pliny pursuing him sword in hand. See the whole account, b. ix. ep. 13.

(*f*) Mauricus and Arulenus Rusticus were brothers, united not only by the ties of natural affection, but by their manners and congenial virtues. They were cruelly separated in the sight of the senate, when Rusticus was hurried away to execution, and Mauricus ordered into banishment. An account of the former has been given, sect. ii. note (*a*). The latter was restored to his country in the beginning of Nerva's reign, as appears in Pliny, b. i. ep. 5, where his character is said to be that of a man of sound sense

and judgment, formed by experience, and by his deep sagacity able from past events to weigh and measure the future. See his answer to Nerva, this sect. note (*c*).

(*g*) The senate, amidst all these tragic issues, sat without voice or sentiment; a timid and speechless assembly, as Pliny has it, *Curia timida et elinguis.* They submitted, with passive obedience, to the tyrant's will; and therefore Tacitus says that their hands were imbrued in the blood of Senecio. See sect. ii. note (*b*).

(*h*) Domitian's complexion was of so deep a red, that nothing could add to his natural colour, and he was therefore said by Pliny to be a man of unblushing arrogance. See sect. xxxix. note (*b*). The critics have objected to Tacitus, that, in this place, he seems too fond of an antithesis: he places, they say, the settled crimson of a tyrant's countenance, which fortified him against all shame, in opposition to the pale sickly horror of wretches who dreaded their final doom from his approach. But if (as we have seen, sect. xxix. note (*b*), Pliny, who studied no contrast, thought the fact worth recording, by what law in Quintilian, or any other good judge of fine writing, was Tacitus to be precluded from an imitation of truth and nature? The fixed vermilion of the cheek was peculiar to Domitian: with other men a sudden emotion of anger forces the blood into the face, and nature gives that unerring signal. Seneca has observed, that men are then chiefly terrible, when the face reddens, and shame has thrown out all its symptoms. Sylla was then most to be dreaded, when his blood rushed into his countenance. *Quidam, nunquam magis quam cum erubuerint, timendi sunt; quasi omnem verecundiam effuderint. Sylla tunc erat violentissimus, cum faciem ejus sanguis invaserat.* Seneca, ep. xi. This was not the case of Domitian: a settled ferocity glowed on his cheeks, and the men, who knew themselves marked out for destruction, trembled at his approach.

(*i*) Tacitus and his wife, at the time of Agricola's death, had been four years absent from Rome; on what account we are no

where told. Some critics suppose, that he was banished by Domitian; but this seems to be without foundation. Lipsius is of opinion, that his retreat was voluntary; being a man incapable of beholding, with a passive spirit, the sufferings of his fellow citizens, under a bloody and destructive tyrant. The whole of this passage, in which the author addresses himself to Agricola, is, perhaps, as beautiful, as pathetic, and as elegant an apostrophe, as can be found in Tully, or any of the most admired orators. When the author says, *in the last glimpse of light, you looked round with an asking eye for something that was absent*, NOVISSIMA IN LUCE DESIDERAVERE ALIQUID OCULI TUI, we feel the stroke of tenderness; we are transported in fancy to the bedside, and we love to gaze on the expiring hero. If Warburton in the conclusion of the Essay on Man, could find the five sources of the sublime, we may, with better reason, say, this apostrophe contains them all. Brotier quotes a passage from the late King of Prussia's funeral oration on Prince Henry of Prussia, in which he finds either a fine imitation of Tacitus, or the sympathy of congenial minds. *O prince! qui saviez combien vous m'étiez cher; combien votre personne m'étoit précieuse; si la voix des vivans peut se faire entendre des morts, prêtez attention à une voix, qui ne vous fut pas inconnue; souffrez que ce fragile monument, le seul, hélas! que je puis ériger à votre mémoire, vous soit élevé.* See *Eloge du Prince Henri, par S. M. le Roi de Prusse.*

SECTION XLVI.

(*a*) Tacitus, in this place, speaks hypothetically, but with an apparent disposition to embrace the system of the best and wisest men, and, it may be added, the persuasion of mankind in every age and nation. That the soul of man is not extinguished with his animal life, but passes, in that awful moment, into some new region of existence, or transmigrates into some other being, has been, at all times, the opinion, or the conjecture, or the wish, of the rudest and most savage tribes; and this universal consent, Cicero observes in the first Tusculan, is the law of nature speaking in the human heart. *Omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium*

lex naturæ putanda est. Men of study and deep speculation adopted what they saw rooted in the mass of the people; and, having no better guide than the dim light of nature, they established their schools of philosophy, and taught their different systems. The Socratic and Platonic professors declared for the immortality of the soul, and some of their proofs are short of nothing but revelation. The Stoic sect did not embrace the doctrine in its full extent: according to their hypothesis, certain chosen spirits, might have their existence prolonged in a future world, but not to eternity. They allowed us, says Cicero, the duration of a crow, admitting that the soul may exist hereafter, but not for ever. *Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur tamquam cornicibus; diu mansuros aiunt animos; semper negant.* *First Tusculan*, s. 32. It was reserved for Epicurus to deny the attributes of the supreme being, and to teach the gloomy doctrine of annihilation. That philosopher, however, did not long make head against the general sense of mankind. He gained some apostates; but their writings have long since disappeared, and their tenets are now supported by the poetry of Lucretius only. Macrobius, in his remarks on the SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS of Cicero, has mentioned the triumph of a better and more moral doctrine. The immateriality, he says, as well as the immortality of the soul, has gained the general assent. *Obtinuit non minus de incorporalitate animæ, quam de immortalitate sententia.* Cicero, in various parts of his works, maintained the same doctrine, and in one admirable sentence seems to have compressed the whole force of the argument. That, he says, which feels, which thinks, which deliberates, and wills, is of heavenly origin, and, for that reason, must be immortal. *Quidquid est illud, quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vult, quod viget, cæleste et divinum est, ob eamque rem æternum sit necesse est.* But this doctrine, amidst the contentions of dogmatical sects, was far from being established. Wise men embraced it. *Ut sapientibus placet*, says Tacitus, and he may be allowed to have embraced the most orthodox opinion. If the immortality of the soul was not a settled article of his creed, at a time when the light of revelation was not yet diffused over the Christian world, it is however probable,

that he, who possessed a comprehensive and sublime understanding, was not content with the grovelling notion of falling into nothing, but aspired, and wished, and hoped, to enjoy a future state of immortality. He was conscious of the dignity of human nature, and thence proceeded the fine address to the departed spirit of his father-in-law.

(*b*) The text is left by the copyists in a mangled condition. The words, as they stand, can not be reduced to any kind of sense. *Admiratione te potius, temporalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet* MILITUM *decoremus.* Lipsius and Grotius have contributed their assistance. The former reads, *Admiratione te potius, te temporalibus laudibus*; and (instead of *militum*, which is totally unintelligible) Grotius adds, *similitudine decoremus.* Out of the word *similitudine* a bad transcriber might make *militum.* La Bletterie thinks it might be *æmulatu*, and that conjecture has been adopted in the translation.

(*c*) Cicero has a sentiment analogous to what is here said by Tacitus. Servius Sulpicius could leave no monument equal to the portrait of his manners, his virtue, his constancy, and his talents, which still survived in his son. *Nullum monumentum clarius Servius Sulpicius relinquere potuerat, quam effigiem morum suorum virtutis, constantiæ, ingenii, filium.* See the *Tenth Philippic.* Martial, in an elegant epigram, wishes that the painter's art could delineate the manners and the mind of his friend: that would make the best picture in the world.

Ars utinam mores animumque effingere posset;
Pulchrior in terris nulla tabella foret.

Lib. x. epig. 32.

(*d*) So we read in Horace:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illachrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

Lib. iv. ode 9.

Vain was the chief's, the sage's pride;
They had no poet, and they died:
In vain they schem'd, in vain they bled;
They had no poet, and are dead. POPE.

(e) Pliny, the consul, returned thanks to Tacitus for desiring an account of the elder Pliny's death, that he might transmit it with truth to posterity. His uncle, he says, if celebrated by such a writer, will be immortal. Pliny, b. vi. epist. 16. That part, however, of our author's works has not come down to us, and the prophecy has so far failed. The prediction of Tacitus is completely verified: Agricola is rendered immortal; he lives in the historian's page, and will continue to do so, as long as men retain a taste for the best and truest model of biography.

END OF NOTES ON THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

NOTES

ON

THE DIALOGUE

CONCERNING

ORATORY.

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THE DIALOGUE

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The scene of the following Dialogue is laid in the sixth year of Vespasian, A. U. C. 828, A. D. 75. The commentators are much divided in their opinions about the real author; his work they all agree is a masterpiece in the kind; written with taste and judgment; entertaining, profound, and elegant. But whether it is to be ascribed to Tacitus, Quintilian, or any other person, whom they can not name, is a question upon which they have exhausted a store of learning. They have given us, according to their custom, much controversy, and little decision. In this field of conjecture Lipsius led the way. He published, in 1574, the first good edition of Tacitus, with judicious emendations of the text, and notes to illustrate every passage which he thought wanted explanation. He was, beyond all question, a man of genius and great erudition. He, and Casaubon, and Scaliger, were called the triumvirate of literature. Lipsius, however, stands distinguished by his taste, and his politeness. Commentators in general seem to think, as Doctor Bentley expressed it, that *they are riding to posterity upon the back of an ancient;* and being well mounted, they imagine that to prance, and show all their paces, and dash through thick and thin, and bespatter all who come in their way, is the true dignity of a critic. Lipsius was not of this

Pliny, and, at eighteen, might properly be allowed by his friends to be of their party. In two years afterwards (A. U. C. 830), he married Agricola's daughter, and he expressly says (Life of Agricola, sect. ix.), that he was then a very young man. The arguments drawn by the several commentators from the difference of style, Brotier thinks are of no weight. The style of a young author will naturally differ from what he has settled by practice at an advanced period of life. This has been observed in many eminent writers, and in none more than Lipsius himself. His language, in the outset, was easy, flowing, and elegant; but, as he advanced in years, it became stiff, abrupt, and harsh. Tacitus relates a conversation on a literary subject; and in such a piece, who can expect to find the style of an historian or an annalist? For these reasons Brotier thinks that this Dialogue may, with good reason, be ascribed to Tacitus. The translator enters no farther into the controversy, than to say, that in a case, where certainty can not be obtained, we must rest satisfied with the best evidence the nature of the thing will admit. The dispute is of no importance; for, as Lipsius says, whether we give the *Dialogue* to Quintilian or to Tacitus, no inconvenience can arise. *Whoever* was the author, it is a performance of uncommon beauty.

Before we close this introduction, it will not be improper to say a word or two about Brotier's Supplement. In the wreck of ancient literature a considerable part of this Dialogue has perished, and, by consequence, a chasm is left, much to be lamented by every reader of taste. To avoid the inconvenience of a broken context, Brotier has endeavoured to compensate for the loss. What he has added, will be found in the progress of the work; and as it is executed by the learned editor with great elegance, and equal probability, it is hoped that the insertion of it will be more agreeable to the reader, than a dull pause of melancholy regret.

Section I.

(*a*) Justus Fabius was consul A. U. C. 864, A. D. 111. But as he did not begin the year, his name does not appear in the

Fasti Consulares. There are two letters to him from his friend Pliny; the first, lib. i. epist. 11; the other, lib. vii. ep. 2. It is remarkable, that, in the last, the author talks of sending some of his writings for his friend's perusal; *quæram quid potissimum ex nugis meis tibi exhibeam*; but not a word is said about the decline of eloquence.

Section II.

(*a*) Concerning Maternus nothing is known with any kind of certainty. Dio relates that a sophist, of that name, was put to death by Domitian, for a school of declamation against tyrants; but not one of the commentators ventures to assert that he was the *Curiatius Maternus*, who makes so conspicuous a figure in the Diologue before us.

(*b*) No mention is made of Marcus Aper either by Quintillian or Pliny. It is supposed that he was father of Marcus Flavius Aper, who was substituted consul A. U. C. 853. A. D. 130. His oratorical character, and that of Secundus, as we find them drawn in this section, are not unlike what we are told by Cicero of Crassus and Antonius. Crassus, he says, was not willing to be thought destitute of literature, but he wished to have it said of him, that he despised it, and preferred the good sense of the Romans to the refinements of Greece. Antonius, on the other hand, was of opinion that his fame would rise to greater magnitude, if he was considered as a man wholy illiterate, and void of education. In this manner they both expected to increase their popularity; the former, by despising the Greeks, and the latter by not knowing them. *Fuit hoc in utroque eorum, ut Crassus non tam existimari vellet non didicisse, quam illa despicere, et nostrorum hominum in omni genere prudentiam Græcis anteferre. Antonius autem probabiliorem populo orationem fore censebat suam, si omninò didicisse nunquam putaretur; atque ita se uterque graviorem fore, si alter contemnere, alter ne nosse quidem Græcos videretur.* Cicero *De Orat.* lib. ii. cap. 1.

(*c*) Quintilian makes honourable mention of Julius Secundus,

who if he had not been prematurely cut off, would have transmitted his name to posterity amongst the most celebrated orators. He would have added, and he was daily doing it, whatever was requisite to complete his oratorical genius; and all that could be desired, was more vigour in argument, and more attention to matter and sentiment than to the choice of words. But he died too soon, and his fame was, in some degree, intercepted. He has, notwithstanding, left a considerable name. His diction was rich and copious; he explained every thing with grace and elegance; his periods flowed with a suavity that charmed his audience; his language when metaphorical, was bold, yet accurate; and, if he hazarded an unusual phrase, he was justified by the energy with which his meaning was conveyed. *Julio Secundo, si longior contigisset ætas, clarissimum profecto nomen oratoris apud posteros foret. Adjecisset enim, atque adjiciebat, cæteris virtutibus suis, quod desiderari potest; id est autem, ut esset, multo magis pugnax, et sæpius ad curam rerum ab elocutione respiceret. Cæterum interceptus quoque magnum sibi vindicat locum. Ea est facundia, tanta in explicando, quod velit, gratia; tam candidum, et lene, et speciosum dicendi genus; tanta verborum, etiam quæ assumpta sunt, proprietas; tanta in quibusdam, ex periculo petitis, significantia.* Quintil. lib. x. s. 1. It is remarkable, that Quintilian, in his list of Roman orators, has neither mentioned Maternus, or Marcus Aper. The Dialogue, for that reason, seems to be improperly ascribed to him: men who figure so much in the inquiry concerning oratory, would not have been omitted by the critic, who thought their conversation worth recording.

Section III.

(*a*) Thyestes was a common and popular subject of ancient tragedy.

> In lignatur item privatis, et prope socco
> Dignis carminibus narrari scena Thyestæ.
>
> Horat. Ars Poet. ver. 90.

(*b*) It was the custom of the colonies, and municipal towns, to pay their court to some great orator at Rome, in order to obtain

his patronage, whenever they should have occasion to apply to the senate for a redress of grievances.

(c) Domitius was another subject of tragedy, taken from the Roman story. Who he was does not clearly appear. Brotier thinks it was Domitius, the avowed enemy of Julius Cæsar, who moved in the senate for a law to recal that general from the command of the army in Gaul, and, afterwards, on the breaking out of the civil war, fell bravely at the battle of Pharsalia. See Suetonius, Life of Nero, section 2. Such a character might furnish the subject of a tragedy. The Roman poets were in the habit of enriching their drama with domestic occurrences, and the practice was applauded by Horace.

> Nec minimum meruére decus, vestigia Græca
> Ausi desere, et celebrare domestica facta.
>
> ARS POET. ver. 286.

> No path to fame our poets left untried;
> Nor small their merit, when with conscious pride
> They scorn'd to take from Greece the storied theme,
> But dar'd to sing their own domestic fame.
>
> FRANCIS'S HORACE.

SECTION V.

(a) There were at Rome several eminent men of the name of Bassus. With regard to the person, here called Saleius Bassus, the commentators have not been able to glean much information. Some have contended that it was to him Persius addressed his sixth satire:

> Admovit jam bruma foco te, Basse, Sabino.

But if we may believe the old scholiast, his name was CÆSIUS BASSUS, a much admired lyric poet, who was living on his own farm, at the time when Mount Vesuvius discharged its torrents of fire, and made the country round a scene of desolation. The poet and his house were overwhelmed by the eruption of the lava, which happened A. U. C. 832, in the reign of Titus. Quintilian says of him (b. x. chap. 1.), that if after Horace any poet deserves to be mentioned, Cæsius Bassus was the man. *Si quem adjicere*

velis, is erit Cæsius Bassus. Saleius Bassus is mentioned by Juvenal as an eminent poet in distress:

> ——————At Serrano tenuique Salcio
> Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?
> SAT. vii. ver. 80

> But to poor Bassus what avails a name,
> To starve on compliments and empty fame!
> DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Quintilian says, he possessed a poetic genius, but so warm and vehement, that, even in an advanced age, his spirit was not under the control of sober judgment *Vehemens et poeticum ingenium* SALEII BASSI *fuit; nec ipsum senectute maturum.* This passage affords an insuperable argument against Lipsius, and the rest of the critics, who named Quintilian as a candidate for the honour of this elegant composition. Can it be imagined that a writer, of fair integrity, would in his great work speak of Bassus as he deserved, and in the Dialogue overrate him beyond all proportion? Duplicity was not a part of Quintilian's character.

(*b*) Tacitus, it may be presumed with good reason, was a diligent reader of Cicero, Livy, Sallust, and Seneca. He has, in various parts of his works, coincidences of sentiment and diction, that plainly show the source from which they sprung. In the present case, when he calls eloquence a buckler to protect yourself, and a weapon to annoy your adversary, can any one doubt but he had his eye on the following sentence in *Cicero de Oratore*? *Quid autem tam necessarium, quam tenere semper arma, quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis, vel provocare integros, et te ulcisci lacessitus?*

(*c*) Eprius Marcellus is often a conspicuous figure in the Annals and the History of Tacitus. To a bad heart he united the gift of eloquence. In the Annals, b. xvi. s. 28, he makes a vehement speech against Pætus Thrasea, and afterwards wrought the destruction of that excellent man. For that exploit, he was attacked, in the beginning of Vespasian's reign, by Helvidius Priscus. In the History (book iv. s. 7 and 8) we see them both engaged in a

violent contention. In the following year (823), Helvidius in the senate opened an accusation in form; but Marcellus, by using his eloquence as his buckler and offensive weapon, was able to ward off the blow. He rose from his seat, and, "I leave you, he said, I leave you to give the law to the senate: reign, if you will, even in the presence of the prince." See Hist. iv. s. 43. See also, Life of Agricola, s. 11, notes (*a*) and (*b*).

Section VI.

(*a*) To be rich and have no issue, gave to the person so circumstanced the highest consequence at Rome. All ranks of men paid their court to him. To discourage a life of celibacy, and promote population, Augustus passed a law, called *Papia Poppæa*, whereby bachelors were subjected to penalties. Hence the compliment paid by Horace to his patron:

> Diva producas sobolem, patrumque
> Prosperes decreta super jugandis
> Fœminis, prolisque novæ feraci
> Lege marita.
>
> Carmen Sæculare.

> Bring the springing birth to light,
> And with every genial grace
> Prolific of an endless race,
> Oh! crown our vows, and bless the nuptial rite.
>
> Francis's Horace.

But marriage was not brought into fashion. In proportion to the rapid degeneracy of the manners under the emperors, celibacy grew into respect; insomuch, that we find (Annals, xii. s 52) a man too strong for his prosecutors, because he was rich, old, and childless. *Valuitque pecuniosâ orbitate et senectâ.*

(*b*) The faculty of speaking on a sudden question, with unpremeditated eloquence, Quintilian says, is the reward of study and diligent application. The speech, composed at leisure, will often want the warmth and energy, which accompany the rapid emotions of the mind. The passions, when roused and animated,

and the images which present themselves in a glow of enthusiasm, are the inspirers of true eloquence. Composition has not always this happy effect; the process is slow; languor is apt to succeed; the passions subside, and the spirit of the discourse evaporates. *Maximus vero studiorum fructus est, et velut præmium quoddam amplissimum longi laboris, ex tempore dicendi facultas. Pectus est enim, quod disertos facit, et vis mentis. Nam benè concepti affectus, et recentes rerum imagines continuo impetu feruntur, quæ nonnunquam morâ stili refrigescunt, et dilatæ non revertuntur.* Quintilian, lib. x. cap. 7.

Section VII.

(*a*) The translation is not quite accurate in this place. The original says, when I obtained the *laticlave*, and the English calls it the *manly gown*, which, it must be admitted, is not the exact sense The *toga virilis*, or the *manly gown*, was assumed, when the youth came to man's estate, or the age of seventeen years. On that occasion the friends of the young man conducted him to the *forum* (or sometimes to the capitol), and there invested him with the new gown. This was callled *dies tirocinii;* the day, on which he commenced a *tiro*, or a candidate for preferment in the army. The *laticlave* was an additional honour often granted at the same time. The sons of senators and patricians were entitled to that distinction, as a matter of right: but the young men descended from such as were not patricians, did not wear the *laticlave*, till they entered into the service of the commonwealth, and undertook the functions of the civil magistracy. Augustus Cæsar changed that custom. He gave leave to the sons of senators, in general, to assume the *laticlave*, presently after the time of putting on the *toga virilis*, though they were not capable of civil honours. The emperors who succeeded, allowed the same privilege, as a favour to illustrious families. *Ovid* speaks of himself and his brother assuming the *manly gown* and the *laticlave* at the same time:

> Interea, tacito passu labentibus annis,
> Liberior fratri sumpta mihique toga;
> Induiturque humeris cum lato purpura clavo

Pliny the younger shows, that the *laticlave* was a favour granted by the emperor on particular occasions. He says, he applied for his friend, and succeeded: *Ego sexto latumclavum a Cæsare nostro impetravi.* Lib. ii. epist. 9. The *latusclavus* was a robe worn by consuls, prætors, generals in triumph, and senators, who were called *laticlavii.* Their sons were admitted to the same honour; but the emperors had a power to bestow this garment of distinction, and all privileges belonging to it, upon such as they thought worthy of that honour. This is what Marcus Aper says in the Dialogue, that he obtained; and, when the translation mentions the *manly gown*, the expression falls short of the speaker's idea. Dacier has given an account of the *laticlave*, which has been well recieved by the learned. He tells us, that whatever was made to be put on another thing, was called *clavus*, not because it had any resemblance to a nail, but because it was made an adjunct to another subject. In fact, the *clavi* were purple galloons, with which the Romans bordered the fore part of the tunic, on both sides, and, when drawn close together, they formed an ornament in the middle of the vestment. It was, for that reason, called by the Greeks, μεσόκλαυος. The broad galloons made the *laticlave*, and the narrow the *angusticlave.* The *laticlave*, Dacier adds, is not to be confounded with the *prætexta.* The latter was, at first, appropriated to the magistrates, and the sacerdotal order; but, in time, was extended to the sons of eminent families, to be worn as a mark of distinction, till the age of seventeen, when it was laid aside for the *manly gown.* See Dacier's *Horace*, lib. i. sat. 5; and see Kennet's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 306.

(*b*) Marcus Aper, Julius Secundus, and Curiatius Maternus, according to Brotier and others, were natives of Gaul. Aper (section x.) mentions the Gauls as their common countrymen: *Ne quid de Gallis nostris loquamur.* If that was the fact, a *new man* at Rome would have difficulties to surmount. Ammianus Marcellinus (a Latin historian of the fourth century) says, that at Rome the people despised every thing that did not grow before their eyes within the walls of the city, except the rich who had

no children; and the veneration paid to such as had no heirs was altogether incredible. *Vile esse quidquid extra urbis pomœrium nascitur, æstimant; nec credi potest qua obsequiorum diversitate colantur homines sine liberis Romæ.* Lib. xiv. s. 5. In such a city a young man and a stranger could not expect to be favoured.

(*c*) All causes of a private nature were heard before the **centumviri**. Three were chosen out of every tribe, and the tribes amounted to five-and-thirty, so that in fact 105 were chosen; but, for the sake of a round number, they were called CENTUMVIRI. The causes that were heard before that jurisdiction are enumerated by Cicero, *De Orat.* lib. i. s. 38.

(*d*) The translation says, *the wills and codicils of the rich;* but it is by no means certain that those words convey the meaning of the text, which simply says, *nec codicillis datur.* After due inquiry, it appears that *codicillis* was used by the Latin authors, for what we now call *the letters patent of a prince.* Codicils, in the modern sense of the word, implying a supplement to a will, were unknow to the ancient Roman law. The Twelve Tables mention testaments only. Codicils, in aid to wills, were first introduced in the time of Augustus; but, whatever their operation was, legacies granted by those additional writings were for some time of no validity. To confirm this, we are told that the daughter of Lentulus discharged certain legacies, which being given by codicil, she was not bound to pay. In time, however, codicils, as an addition made by the testator to his will, grew into use, and the legacies thereby granted were confirmed. This might be the case in the sixth year of Vespasian, when the Dialogue passed between the parties; but it is, notwithstanding, highly probable, that the word *codicilli* means, in the passage before us, the *letters patent of the prince.* It is used in that sense by Suetonius, who relates, that Tiberius, after passing a night and two days in revelling with Pomponius Flaccus and Lucius Piso, granted to the former the province of Syria, and made the latter præfect of the city; declaring

them *in the patents*, pleasant companions, and *the friends of all hours*. *Codicillis quoque jucundissimos et omnium horarum amicos professus*. Suet. *in Tib.* s. 42.

(*e*) The common people are called, in the original, *tunicatus populus*; that class of men, who wore the *tunic*, and not the *toga*, or the *Roman gown*. The *tunica*, or close coat, was the common garment worn within doors, and abroad, under the *toga*. Kennet says, the *proletarii*, the *capite censi*, and the rest of the dregs of the city, could not afford to wear the *toga*, and therefore went in their *tunics*; whence Horace says (lib. i. epist. 7.),

Vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello.

The TOGA, however, was the peculiar dress of the Roman people. VIRGIL distinguishes his countrymen by their mode of apparel:

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.

But, though this was the Roman habit, the lower citizens were obliged to appear abroad in their *tunica*, or close garment. The love of praise is so eager a passion, that the public orator is here represented as delighting in the applause of the rabble. Persius, the satirist, has said the same thing:

Pulchrum est digito monstrari, et dicere, HIC EST.

SECTION VIII.

(*a*) The character of Eprius Marcellus has been already stated, section v. note (*c*). Crispus Vibius is mentioned as a man of weight and influence, *Annals*, book xiv. s. 28. Quintilian has mentioned him to his advantage; he calls him, book v. chap. 13, a man of agreeable and elegant talents, *vir ingenii jucundi et elegantis;* and again, Vibius Crispus was distinguished by the elegance of his composition, and the sweetness of his manner; a man born to please, but fitter for private suits, than for the importance of public causes. *Et* VIBIUS CRISPUS, *compositus, et ju-*

cundus, et delectationi natus; privatis tamen causis, quam publicis, melior. Lib. x. cap. 1.

(*b*) Which of these two men was born at Capua, and which at Vercellæ, is not clearly expressed in the original. Eprius Marcellus, who has been described as a prompt and daring spirit, ready to embark in every mischief, and by his eloquence able to give colour to the worst cause, must at this time have become a new man, since we find him mentioned in this dialogue with unbounded praise. He, it seems, and Vibius Crispus were the favourites at Vespasian's court. Vercellæ, now *Verceil*, was situated in the eastern part of Piedmont. *Capua*, rendered famous by Hannibal, was a city in Campania, always deemed the seat of pleasure.

(*c*) Vespasian is said to have been, what is uncommon among sovereign princes, a patient hearer of truth. His attention to men of letters may be considered as a proof of that assertion. The younger Pliny tells us, that his uncle, the author of the Natural History, used to visit Vespasian before day-light, and gained admittance to the emperor, who devoted his nights to study. *Ante lucem ibat ad Vespasianum imperatorem: nam ille quoque noctibus utebatur.* Lib. iii. epist. 5.

Section IX.

(*a*) Agamemnon and Jason were two favourite dramatic subjects with the Roman poets. After their example, the moderns seem to have been enamoured with those two Grecian heroes. Racine has displayed the former, in his tragedy of Iphigenia, and the late Mr. Thompson in a performance of great merit, entitled Agamemnon. Corneille, and the late Mr. Glover, thought Jason and Medea worthy of their talents.

(*b*) Saleius Bassus has been already mentioned, s. v. note (*a*). It may be added in this place, that the critics of his time concurred in giving him the warmest praise, not only as a good and excellent man, but also as an eminent and admirable poet. He was descended from a family of distinction, but was poor and

often distressed. Whether he or Cæsius Bassus was the friend of Persius, is not perfectly clear. Be the fact as it may, the satirist describes a fine poet, and his verses were applicable to either of them:

> Jamme lyrâ, et tetrico vivunt tibi pectine chordæ?
> Mire opifex numeris veterum primordia rerum,
> Atque marem strepitum fidis intendisse Latinæ;
> Mox juvenes agitare jocos, et pollice honesto
> Egregios lusisse senes.
>
> PERSIUS, sat. vi.

(c) Before the invention of printing, copies were not easily multiplied. Authors were eager to enjoy their fame, and the pen of the transcriber was slow and tedious. Public rehearsals were the road to fame. But an audience was to be drawn together by interest, by solicitation, and public advertisements. Pliny, in one of his letters, has given a lively description of the difficulties which the author had to surmount. This year, he says, has produced poets in great abundance. Scarce a day has passed in the month of April, without the recital of a poem. But the greater part of the audience comes with reluctance; they loiter in the lobbies, and there enter into idle chat, occasionally desiring to know, whether the poet is in his pulpit? has he begun? is his preface over? has he almost finished? They condescended, at last, to enter the room; they looked round with an air of indifference, and soon retired, some by stealth, and others with open contempt. Hence the greater praise is due to those authors, who do not suffer their genius to droop, but on the contrary, amidst the most discouraging circumstances, still persist to cultivate the liberal arts. Pliny adds, that he himself attended all the public readings, and, for that purpose, staid longer in the city than was usual with him. Being, at length, released, he intended, in his rural retreat, to finish a work of his own, but not to read it in public, lest he should be thought to claim a return of the civility, which he had shown to others. He was a hearer, and not a creditor. The favour conferred, if redemanded, ceases to be a favour. *Magnum proventum poetarum annus hic attulit. Toto mense Aprili nullus*

ferè dies, quo non recitaret aliquis. Tametsi ad audiendum pigrè coitur. Plerique in stationibus sedent, tempusque audiendis fabulis conterunt, ac subinde sibi nuntiari jubent, an jam recitator intraverit, an dixerit præfationem, an ex magnâ parte evolverit librum? Tum demum, ac tunc quoque lentè, cunctanterque veniunt, nec tamen remanent, sed ante finem recedunt; alii dissimulanter, ac furtim, alii simpliciter, ac liberè. Sed tanto magis laudandi probandique sunt, quos a scribendi recitandique studio hæc auditorum vel desidia, vel superbia non retardat. Equidem prope nemini defui: his ex causis longius, quam destinaveram, tempus in urbe consumpsi. Possum jam repetere secessum, et scribere aliquid, quod non recitem, ne videar, quorum recitationibus affui, non auditor fuisse, sed creditor. Nam, ut in cæteris rebus, ita in audiendi officio, perit gratia si reposcatur. Pliny, lib. i. ep. 13. Such was the state of literature under the worst of the emperors. The Augustan age was over. In the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula learning drooped, but in some degree revived under the dull and stupid Claudius. Pliny, in the letter above cited, says of that emperor, that one day hearing a noise in his palace, he inquired what was the cause, and, being informed that Nonianus was reciting in public, went immediately to the place, and became one of the audience. After that time letters met with no encouragement from the great. Lord Shaftsbury says, he cannot but wonder how the Romans, after the extinction of the *Cæsarean* and *Claudian* family, and a short interval of princes raised and destroyed with much disorder and public ruin, were able to regain their perishing dominion, and retrieve their sinking state, by an after-race of wise and able princes, successively adopted, and taken from a private state to rule the empire of the world. They were men, who not only possessed the military virtues, and supported that sort of discipline in the highest degree; but as they sought the interest of the world, they did what was in their power to restore liberty, and raise again the perishing arts, and the decayed virtue of mankind. But the season was past: *barbarity* and *gothicism* were already entered into the arts, ere the savages made an impression on the empire. See *Advice to an Author*, part ii. s. 1. The *gothicism*, hinted at

by Shaftesbury, appears manifestly in the wretched situation, to which the best authors were reduced. The poets, who could not hope to procure an audience, haunted the baths and public walks, in order to fasten on their friends, and, at any rate, obtain a hearing for their works. Juvenal says, the plantations and marble columns of Julius Fronto resounded with the vociferation of reciting poets:

> Frontonis platani convulsaque marmora clamant
> Semper, et assiduo ruptæ lectore columnæ.
> Expectes eadem a summo minimoque poetâ.
>
> SAT. i. ver. 12.

The same author observes, that the poet who aspired to literary fame, might borrow an house for the purpose of a public reading; and the great man, who accommodated the writer, might arrange his friends and freedmen on the back seats, with direction not to be sparing of their applause; but still a stage or pulpit, with convenient benches, was to be procured, and that expense the patrons of letters would not supply.

> ——————— At si dulcedine famæ
> Contentus recites, Maculonus commodat ædes.
> Scit dare libertos extremâ in parte sedentes
> Ordinis, et magnas comitum disponere voces.
> Nemo dabit procerum, quanti subsellia constent.
>
> SAT. vii. ver. 39.

Statius, in Juvenal's time, was a favourite poet. If he announced a reading, his auditors went in crowds. He delighted all degrees and ranks of men; but, when the hour of applause was over, the author was obliged to sell a tragedy to Paris, the famous actor, in order to procure a dinner.

> Curritur ad vocem jucundam, et carmen amicæ
> Thebaidos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,
> Promisitque diem: tanta dulcedine vulgi
> Auditur; sed cum fregit subsellia versu,
> Esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agaven.
>
> SAT. vii. ver. 82.

This was the hard lot of poetry, and this the state of public reading, which Aper describes to his friend Maternus.

Section X.

(*a*) Horace has the same observation:

> ——————— Mediocribus esse poetis
> Non Dii, non homines, non concessêre columnæ.
>
> Art of Poetry, ver. 372.

> But God and man, and letter'd post denies,
> That poets ever are of middling size.
>
> Francis's Horace.

(*b*) Notwithstanding all that is said, in this Dialogue, of Saleius Bassus, it does not appear, in the judgment of Quintilian, that he was a poet, whose fame could extend itself to the distant provinces. Perfection in the kind is necessary. Livy, the historian, was at the head of his profession. In consequence of his vast reputation, we know from Pliny, the consul, that a native of the city of Cadiz was so struck with the character of that great writer, that he made a journey to Rome, with no other *intent*, than to see that celebrated genius; and having gratified his curiosity, without staying to view the wonders of that magnificent city, returned home perfectly satisfied. *Nunquamne legisti Gaditanum quemdam Titi Livii nomine gloriâque commotum, ad visendum eum ab ultimo terrarum orbe venisse, statimque, ut viderat, abiisse?* Lib. ii. epist. 3.

(*c*) In Homer and Virgil, as well as in the dramatic poets of the first order, we frequently have passages of real eloquence, with the difference which Quintilian mentions; the poet, he says, is a slave to the measure of his verse; and, not being able at all times to make use of the true and proper word, he is obliged to quit the natural and easy way of expression, and avail himself of new modes and turns of phraseology, such as tropes, and metaphors, with the liberty of transposing words, and lengthening or shortening syllables as he sees occasion. *Quod alligati ad certam*

pedum necessitatem non semper propriis uti possint, sed depulsi a recta via, necessario ad quædam diverticula confugiant; nec mutare quædam modo verba, sed extendere, corripere, convertere, dividere cogantur. Quint. lib. x. cap 1. The speaker in the Dialogue is aware of this distinction, and, subject to it, the various branches of poetry are with him so many different modes of eloquence.

(*d*) The original has, the citadel of eloquence, which calls to mind an admired passage in Lucretius:

> Sed nil dulcius est bene quam munita tenere
> Edita doctrina sapientum templa serena,
> Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
> Errare, atque viam pallantes quærere vitæ
>
> Lib. ii. ver. 7.

(*e*) It is a fact well known, that in Greece the most illustrious of both sexes thought it honourable to exercise themselves in the exhibitions of the theatre, and even to appear in the athletic games. Plutarch, it is true, will have it, that all scenic arts were prohibited at Sparta by the laws of Lycurgus; and yet Cornelius Nepos assures us, that no Lacedæmonian matron, however high her quality, was ashamed to act for hire on the public stage. He adds, that throughout Greece, it was deemed the highest honour to obtain the prize in the Olympic games, and no man blushed to be a performer in plays and pantomimes, and give himself a spectacle to the people. *Nulla Lacedæmoni tam est nobilis vidua, quæ non in scenam eat mercede conducta. Magnis in laudibus totâ fuit Græciâ victorem Olympiæ citari. In scenam vero prodire, et populo esse spectaculo nemini in iisdem gentibus fuit turpitudini.* Cor. Nep. *in Præfat.* It appears, however, from a story told by Ælian (and cited by Shaftesbury, *Advice to an Author*, part ii. s. 3.), that the Greek women were by law excluded from the Olympic games. Whoever was found to transgress, or even to cross the river Alpheus, during the celebration of that great spectacle, was liable to be thrown from a rock. The consequence was, that not one female was detected, except *Callipatria*, or, as others called her, *Pherenicè*. This woman, disguised in the habit of a teacher of

gymnastic exercises, introduced her son, *Pisidorus*, to contend for the victor's prize. Her son succeeded. Transported with joy at a sight so glorious, the mother overleaped the fence, which enclosed the magistrates, and, in the violence of that exertion, let fall her garment. She was, by consequence, known to be a woman, but absolved from all criminality. For that mild and equitable sentence, she was indebted to the merit of her father, her brothers, and her son, who all obtained the victor's crown. The incident, however, gave birth to a new law, whereby it was enacted, that the masters of the gymnastic art should, for the future, come naked to the Olympic games. *Ælian*, lib. x. cap. 1; and see *Pausanias*, lib. v. cap. 6.

(*f*) Nicostratus is praised by Pausanias (lib. v. cap. 20), as a great master of the athletic arts. Quintilian has also recorded his prowess. Nicostratus, whom in our youth we saw advanced in years, would instruct his pupil in every branch of his art, and make him, what he was himself, an invincible champion. Invincible he was, since, on one and the same day, he entered the lists as a wrestler and a boxer, and was proclaimed conqueror in both. *Ac si fuerit qui docebitur, ille, quem adolescentes vidimus, Nicostratus, omnibus in eo docendi partibus similiter uteretur; efficietque illum, qualis hic fuit, luctando pugnandoque (quorum utroque in certamine iisdem diebus coronabatur) invictum.* Quint. lib. ii. cap. 8.

Section XI.

(*a*) Nero's ambition to excel in poetry was not only ridiculous, but, at the same time, destructive to Lucan, and almost all the good authors of the age. See *Annals*, b. xv. According to the old scholiast on the Satires of Persius, the following verses were either written by Nero, or made in imitation of that emperor's style:

> Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,
> Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo
> Bassaris, et lyncem Mænas flexura corymbis,
> Evion ingeminat: reparabilis adsonat echo.

The affectation of rhyme, which many ages afterwards was the essential part of monkish verse, the tumour of the words, and the wretched penury of thought, may be imputed to a frivolous prince, who studied his art of poetry in the manner described by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 16. And yet it may be a question, whether the satirist would have the hardiness to insert the very words of an imperial poet, armed with despotic power. A burlesque imitation would answer the purpose; and it may be inferred from another passage in the same poem, that Persius was content to ridicule the mode of versification then in vogue at court.

> Claudere sic versum didicit; Berecynthius Attin,
> Et qui cæruleum dirimebat Nerea Delphin.
> Sic costam longo subduximus Apennino.

(*b*) Vatinius was a favourite at the court of Nero. Tacitus calls him the spawn of a cook's-shop and a tippling-house; *sutrinæ et tabernæ alumnus*. He recommended himself to the favour of the prince by his scurrility and vulgar humour. Being, by those arts, raised above himself, he became the declared enemy of all good men, and acted a distinguished part among the vilest instruments of that pernicious court. See his character, *Annals*, xv. s. 34. When an illiberal and low buffoon basks in the sunshine of a court, and enjoys exorbitant power, the cause of literature can have nothing to expect. The liberal arts must, by consequence, be degraded by a corrupt taste, and learning will be left to run wild and grow to seed.

Section XII.

(*a*) That poetry requires a retreat from the bustle of the world, has been so often repeated, that it is now considered as a truth, from which there can be no appeal. Milton, it is true, wrote his Paradise Lost in a small house near *Bunhill Fields*; and Dryden courted the muse in the hurry and dissipation of a town life. But neither of them fixed his residence by choice. Pope grew immortal on the banks of the Thames. But though the country seems to be the seat of contemplation, two great writers have

been in opposite opinions. Cicero says, woods and groves, and rivers winding through the meadows, and the refreshing breeze, with the melody of birds, may have their attraction; but they rather relax the mind into indolence, than rouse our attention, or give vigour to our faculties. *Sylvarum amœnitas, et præterlabentia flumina, et inspirantes ramis arborum aurœ, volucrumque cantus, et ipsa late circumspiciendi libertas ad se trahunt; at mihi remittere potius voluptas ista videtur cogitationem, quam intendere. De Orat.* lib. ii. This, perhaps may be true as applied to the public orator, whose scene of action lay in the forum or the senate. Pliny, on the other hand, says to his friend Tacitus, there is something in the solemnity of venerable woods, and the awful silence which prevails in those places, that strongly disposes us to study and contemplation. For the future, therefore, whenever you hunt, take along with you your pen and paper, as well as your basket and bottle; for you will find the mountains not more inhabited by DIANA, than by MINERVA. *Jam undique sylvæ, et solitudo, ipsumque illud silentium, quod venationi datur, magna cogitationis incitamenta sunt. Proinde, cum venabere, licebit, auctore me, ut panarium et lagunculam, sic etiam pugillares feras. Experiaris non* DIANAM *magis montibus quam* MINERVAM *inerrare.* Lib. i. epist. 6. Between these two different opinions, a true poet may be allowed to decide. Horace describes the noise and tumult of a city life, and then says,

> Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus, et fugit urbes.
> EPIST. lib. ii. ep. ii. ver. 77.

> Alas! to grottos and to groves we run,
> To ease and silence, ev'ry muse's son.
> POPE.

(*b*) The expression in the original is full and expressive, *lucrosæ hujus et sanguinantis eloquentiæ*; that gainful and blood-thirsty eloquence. The immoderate wealth acquired by Eprius Marcellus has been mentioned in this Dialogue, section viii. Pliny gives us an idea of the vast acquisitions gained by Regulus, the

notorious informer. From a state of indigence, he rose, by a train of villanous actions, to such immense riches, that he once consulted the omens, to know how soon he should be worth sixty millions of sesterces, and found them so favourable, that he had no doubt of being worth double that sum. *Aspice Regulum, qui ex paupere et tenui ad tantas opes per flagitia processit, ut ipse mihi dixerit, cum consuleret, quam cito sestertium sexcennies impleturus esset, invenisse se exta duplicata, quibus portendi millies et ducenties habiturum.* Lib. ii. ep. 20. In another epistle the same author relates, that Regulus, having lost his son, was visited upon that occasion by multitudes of people, who all in secret detested him, yet paid their court with as much assiduity as if they esteemed and loved him. They retaliated upon this man his own insidious arts: to gain the friendship of Regulus, they played the game of Regulus himself. He, in the mean time, dwells in his villa on the other side of the Tiber, where he has covered a large tract of ground with magnificent porticos, and lined the banks of the river with elegant statues; profuse, with all his avarice, and, in the depth of infamy, proud and vain-glorious. *Convenitur ad eum mirâ celebritate: cuncti detestantur, oderunt; et, quasi probent, quasi diligant, cursant, frequentant, utque breviter, quod sentio, enunciem, in Regulo demerendo, Regulum imitantur. Tenet se trans Tyberim in hortis, in quibus latissimum solum porticibus immensis, ripam statuis suis occupavit; ut est, in summâ avaritiâ sumptuosus, in summâ infamiâ gloriosus.* Lib. iv. ep. 2. All this splendour, in which Regulus lived, was the fruit of a gainful and blood-thirsty eloquence; if that may be called eloquence, which Pliny says was nothing more than a crazed imagination; *nihil præter ingenium iasanum.* Lib. iv. ep. 7.

(c) Orpheus, in poetic story, was the son of Calliope, and Linus boasted of Apollo for his father.

> ——— Nec Thracius Orpheus,
> Nec Linus; huic mater quamvis, atque huic pater adsit,
> Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.
>
> VIRG. ECL. iv. ver. 55.

Nor Orpheus's self, nor Linus should exceed
My lofty lays, or gain the poet's meed,
Tho' Phœbus, tho' Calliope inspire,
And one the mother aid, and one the sire.

WHARTON'S VIRGIL.

Orpheus embarked in the Argonautic expedition. His history of it, together with his hymns, is still extant; but whether genuine, is much doubted.

(*d*) Lysias, the celebrated orator, was a native of Syracuse, the chief town in Sicily. He lived about four hundred years before the Christian æra. Cicero says, that he did not addict himself to the practice of the bar; but his compositions were so judicious, so pure and elegant, that you might venture to pronounce him a perfect orator. *Tum fuit Lysias, ipse quidem in causis forensibus non versatus, sed egregiè subtilis scriptor, atque elegans, quem jam prope audeas oratorem perfectum dicere.* Cicero *De Claris Orat.* s. 35. Quintilian gives the same opinion. Lysias, he says, preceded Demosthenes: he is acute and elegant, and if to teach the art of speaking were the only business of an orator, nothing more perfect can be found. He has no redundancy, nothing superfluous, nothing too refined, or foreign to his purpose: his style is flowing, but more like a pure fountain, than a noble river. *His ætate Lysias major, subtilis atque elegans, et quo nihil, si oratori satis sit docere, quæras perfectius. Nihil enim est inane nihil arcessitum; puro tamen fonti, quam magno flumini propior.* Quint. lib. x. cap. 1. A considerable number of his orations is still extant, all written with exquisite taste and inexpressible sweetness. See a very pleasing translation by Dr. Gillies.

Hyperides flourished at Athens in the time of Demosthenes, Æschynes, Lycurgus, and other famous orators. That age, says Cicero, poured forth a torrent of eloquence, of the best and purest kind, without the false glitter of affected ornament, in a style of noble simplicy, which lasted to the end of that period. *Huic Hyperides proximus, et Æschynes fuit, et Lycurgus, aliique plures.*

Hæc enim ætas effudit hanc copiam; et, ut opinio mea fert, succus ille et sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis inesset, non fucatus vitor. *De Claris Orat.* s. 36. Quintilian allows to Hyperides a keen discernment, and great sweetness of style; but he propounces him an orator designed by nature to shine in causes of no great moment. *Dulcis in primis et acutus Hyperides; sed minoribus causis, ut non dixerim utilior, magis par.* Lib. x. cap. 1. Whatever might he the case when this Dialogue happened, it is certain, at present, that the fame of Sophocles and Euripides has eclipsed the two Greek orators.

(*e*) For an account of Asinius Pollio and Corvinus Messala, see *Annals*, b. xi. s. 6. Quintilian (b. xii. chap. 10) commends the diligence of Pollio, and the dignity of Messala. In another part of his Institutes, he praises the invention, the judgment, and spirit of Pollio, but at the same time says, he fell so short of the suavity and splendour of Cicero; that he might well pass for an orator of a former age. He adds, that Messala was natural and elegant: the grandeur of his style seemed to announce the nobility of his birth; but still he wanted force and energy. *Multa in Asinio Pollione inventio, summa diligentia, adeo ut quibusdam etiam nimia videatur; et consilii et animi satis; a nitore et jucunditate Ciceronis ita longe abest, ut videri possit sæculo prior. At Messala nitidus et candidus, et quodammodo præ se ferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor.* Quintilian. lib x. cap. 1. The two great poets of the Augustan age have transmitted the name of Asinius Pollio to the latest posterity. Virgil has celebrated him as a poet, and a commander of armies, in the Illyrican and Dalmatic wars.

> Tu mihi, seu magni superas jam saxa Timavi,
> Sive oram Illyrici legis æquoris; en erit unquam
> Ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?
> En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem
> Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno?
>
> Eclog. viii. ver. 6.

O Pollio! leading thy victorious bands
O'er deep Timavus, or Illyria's sands;
O when thy glorious deeds shall I rehearse?
When tell the world how matchless is thy verse,
Worthy the lofty stage of laurell'd Greece,
Great rival of majestic Sophocles!

WARTON'S VIRGIL.

Horace has added the orator and the statesman:

Paulum severæ musa tragediæ
Desit theatris; mox, ubi publicas
Res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,
Insigne mœstis præsidium reis,
Et consulenti, Pollio, curiæ,
Cui laurus æternos honores
Dalmatico peperit triumpho.

Lib. ii. ode 1.

Retard awhile thy glowing vein,
Nor swell the solemn tragic scene;
And when thy sage, thy patriot cares
Have form'd the train of Rome's affairs,
With lofty rapture reinflam'd, diffuse,
Heroic thoughts, and wake the buskin'd muse.

FRANCIS'S HORACE.

But after all, the question put by Maternus, is, can any of their orations be compared to the *Medea* of Ovid, or the *Thyestes* of Varius? Those two tragedies are so often praised by the critics of antiquity, that the republic of letters has reason to lament the loss. Quintilian says that the *Medea* of Ovid was a specimen of genius, that showed to what heights the poet could have risen, had he thought fit rather to curb, than give the rein to his imagination. *Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum vir ille præstare potuisset, si ingenio suo temperare, quam indulgere maluisset.* Lib. x. cap. 1.

The works of Varius, if we except a few fragments, are wholly lost. Horace, in his journey to Brundusium, met him and Virgil, and he mentions the incident with the rapture of a friend who loved them both:

> Plotius, et VARIUS Sinuessæ, Virgiliusque
> Occurrunt; animæ quales neque candidiores
> Terra tulit, neque queis me sit devinctior alter.
>
> Lib. i. sat. 5.

Horace also celebrates Varius as a poet of sublime genius. He begins his Ode to Agrippa with the following lines:

> Scriberis Vario fortis, et hostium
> Victor, Mæonii carminis alite,
> Quam rem cumque ferox navibus, aut equis
> Miles te duce gesserit.
>
> Lib. i, ode 6.

> Varius, who soars on epic wing,
> Agrippa, shall thy conquests sing,
> Whate'er, inspir'd by thy command,
> The soldier dar'd on sea or land.
>
> FRANCIS'S HORACE.

A few fragments only of his work have reached posterity. His tragedy of THYESTES is highly praised by Quintilian. That judicious critic does not hesitate to say, that it may be opposed to the best productions of the Greek stage. *Jam Varii Thyestes cuilibet Græcorum comparari potest.* Varius lived in high favour at the court of Augustus. After the death of Virgil, he was joined with *Plotius* and *Tucca* to revise the works of that admirable poet. The *Varus* of Virgil, so often celebrated in the Pastorals, was, notwithstanding what some of the commentators have said, a different person from Varius, the author of Thyestes.

SECTION XIII.

(*a*) The rural delight of Virgil is described by himself:

Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes;
Flumina amem, sylvasque inglorius. O ubi campi,
Sperchiusque, et virginibus bacchata Lacænis
Taygeta! O quis me gelidis sub montibus Hæmi
Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ?

GEORGICA, lib. ii. ver. 485.

Me may the lowly vales and woodland please,
And winding rivers, and inglorious ease;
O that I wander'd by Sperchius' flood,
Or on Taygetus' sacred top I stood!
Who in cool Hæmus' vales my limbs will lay.
And in the darkest thicket hide from day?

WHARTON'S VIRG.

Besides this poetical retreat, which his imagination could command at any time, Virgil had a real and delightful villa near Naples, where he composed his Georgics, and wrote great part of the Æneid

(*b*) When Augustus, or any eminent citizen, distinguished by his public merit, appeared in the theatre, the people testified their joy by acclamations and unbounded applause. It is recorded by Horace, that Mæcenas received that public honour.

——— Datus in theatro
Cum tibi plausus,
Care Mæcenas eques, ut paterni
Fluminis ripæ, simul et jocosa
Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
Montis imago. Lib. i. ode 20.

When Virgil appeared, the audience paid the same compliment to a man whose poetry adorned the Roman story. The letters from Augustus, which are mentioned in this passage, have perished in the ruins of ancient literature.

(c) Pomponius Secundus was of consular rank, and an emi-

ment writer of tragedy. See *Annals*, b. ii. s. 13. His life was written by Pliny the elder, whose nephew mentions the fact (book iii. epist. 5), and says it was a tribute to friendship. Quintilian pronounces him the best of all the dramatic poets, whom he had seen; though the critics, whose judgment was matured by years, did not think him sufficiently tragical. They admitted, however, that his erudition was considerable, and the beauty of his composition surpassed all his contemporaries. *Eorum, quos viderim, longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore præstare confitebantur.* Lib. x. cap. 1.

(*d*) Quintilian makes honourable mention of Domitius Afer. He says, when he was a boy, the speeches of that orator for Volusenus Catulus were held in high estimation. *Et nobis pueris insignes pro Voluseno Catulo Domitii Afri orationes ferebantur.* Lib. x. cap. 1. He adds, in another part of the same chapter, that Domitius Afer and Julius Africanus were, of all the orators who flourished in his time, without comparison the best. But Afer stands distinguished by the splendour of his diction, and the rhetorical art, which he has displayed in all his compositions. You would not scruple to rank him among the ancient orators. *Eorum quos viderim, Domitius Afer et Julius Secundus longe præstantissimi. Verborum arte ille, et toto genere dicendi præferendus, et quem in numero veterum locare non timeas.* Lib. x. cap. 1. Quintilian relates, that in a conversation which he had when a young man, he asked Domitius Afer what poet was, in his opinion, the next to Homer? The answer was, *Virgil is undoubtedly the second epic poet, but he is nearer to the first, than to the third. Utar enim verbis, quæ ex Afro Domitio juvenis accepi; qui mihi interroganti, quem Homero crederet maximè accedere: Secundus, inquit, est Virgilius, propior tamen primo quam tertio.* Lib. x. cap. 1. We may believe that Quintilian thought highly of the man, whose judgment he cites as an authority. Quintilian, however, had in view nothing but the talents of this celebrated orator. Tacitus, as a moral historian, looked at the character of the man. He intro-

duces him on the stage of public business in the reign of Tiberius, and there represents him in haste to advance himself by any kind of crime. *Quoquo facinore properus clarescere.* He tells us, in the same passage (*Annals*, b. iv. s 52), that Tiberius pronounced him an orator in his own right, *suo jure disertum.* Afer died in the reign of Nero, A. U. C. 812, A. D. 59. In relating his death, Tacitus observes, that he raised himself by his eloquence to the first civil honours; but he does not dismiss him without condemning his morals. *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 19.

(*e*) We find in the Annals and the History of Tacitus, a number of instances to justify the sentiments of Maternus. The rich found it necessary to bequeath part of their substance to the prince, in order to secure the remainder for their families. For the same reason, Agricola made Domitian joint heir with his wife and daughter. *Life of Agricola*, section xliii.

(*f*) By a law of the Twelve Tables, a crown, when fairly earned by virtue, was placed on the head of the deceased, and another was ordered to be given to his father. The spirit of the law, Cicero says, plainly intimated, that commendation was a tribute due to departed virtue. A crown was given not only to him who earned it, but also to the father who gave birth to distinguished merit. *Illa jam significatio est, laudis ornamenta ad mortuos pertinere, quod coronam virtute partam, et ei, qui peperisset, et ejus parenti, sine fraude lex impositam esse jubet. De Legibus*, lib. ii. s. 24. This is the reward to which Maternus aspires; and, that being granted, he desires, as Horace did before him, to wave the pomp of funeral ceremonies.

> Absint inani funere næniæ,
> Luctusque turpes, et querimoniæ;
> Compesce clamorem, et sepulchri
> Mitte supervacuos honores. Lib. ii. ode 20.

> My friends, the funeral sorrow spare,
> The plaintive song, and tender tear;
> Nor let the voice of grief profane,
> With loud laments, the solemn scene;

Nor o'er your poet's empty urn
With useless idle sorrow mourn. FRANCIS's HORACE.

SECTION XIV.

(*a*) Vipstanius Messala commanded a legion, and, at the head of it, went over to Vespasian's party in the contention with Vitellius. He was a man of illustrious birth, and equal merit; the only one, says Tacitus, who entered into that war from motives of virtue. *Legioni Vipstanius Messala præerat, claris majoribus, egregius ipse, et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas attulisset. Hist.* lib. iii. s. 9. He was brother to Regulus, the vile informer, who has been mentioned. See Life of Agricola, section ii. note (*a*), and this tract, s. xii. note (*b*). Messala, we are told by Tacitus, before he had attained the senatorian age, acquired great fame by pleading the cause of his profligate brother with extraordinary eloquence, and family affection. *Magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiæque famam Vipstanius Messala adeptus est; nondum senatoriâ ætate, ausus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari. Hist.* lib. iv. s. 42. Since Messala has now joined the company, the Dialogue takes a new turn, and, by an easy and natural transition, slides into the question concerning the causes of the decline of eloquence.

(*b*) This is probably the same Asiaticus, who in the revolt of the provinces of Gaul, fought on the side of VINDEX. See *Hist.* b. ii. s. 94. Biography was, in that evil period, a tribute paid by the friends of departed merit, and the only kind of writing, in which men could dare faintly to utter a sentiment in favour of public virtue and public liberty.

(*c*) In the declamations of Seneca and Quintilian, we have abundant examples of these scholastic exercises, which Juvenal has placed in a ridiculous light.

Et nos ergo manum ferulæ subduximus, et nos
Consilium dedimus Syllæ, privatus ut altum
Dormiret. SAT. i. ver. 15.

Provok'd by these incorrigible fools,
I left declaiming in pedantic schools;

Where, with men-boys, I strove to get renown,
Advising Sylla to a private gown.

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

SECTION XV.

(*a*) The eloquence of Cicero, and the eminent orators of that age, was preferred by all men of sound judgment to the unnatural and affected style that prevailed under the emperors. Quintilian gives a decided opinion. Cicero, he says, was allowed to be the reigning orator of his time, and his name, with posterity, is not so much that of a man, as of eloquence itself. *Quare non immerito ab hominibus ætatis suæ regnare in judiciis dictus est: apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis, sed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur.* Lib. x. cap. 1. Pliny the younger professed that Cicero was the orator, with whom he aspired to enter into competition. Not content with the eloquence of his own times, he held it absurd not to follow the best examples of a former age. *Est enim mihi cum Cicerone æmulatio, nec sum contentus eloquentiâ sæculi nostri. Nam stultissimum credo, ad imitandum non optima quæque præponere.* Lib. i. epist. 5.

(*b*) Nicetes was a native of Smyrna, and a rhetorician in great celebrity. Seneca says (*Controversiarum*, lib. iv. cap. 25), that his scholars, content with hearing their master, had no ambition to be heard themselves. Pliny the younger, among the commendations which he bestows on a friend, mentions, as a praiseworthy part of his character, that he attended the lectures of Quintilian and Nicetes Sacerdos, of whom Pliny himself was at that time a constant follower. *Erat non studiorum tantum, verum etiam studiosorum amantissimus, ac prope quotidie ad audiendos, quos tunc ego frequentabam, Quintilianum et Nicetem Sacerdotem, ventitabat.* Lib. vi. epist. 6.

(*c*) Mitylene was the chief city of the isle of Lesbos, in the Ægean Sea, near the coast of Asia. The place at this day is called *Metelin;* subject to the Turkish dominion. *Ephesus* was a city of *Ionia*, in the Lesser Asia, now called *Ajalouc* by the Turks, who are masters of the place.

(*d*) Domitius Afer and Julius Africanus have been already mentioned, section xiii. note (*d*). Both are highly praised by Quintilian. For Asinius Pollio, see s. xii. note (*e*).

SECTION XVI.

(*a*) Quintilian puts the same question, and, according to him, Demosthenes is the last of the ancients among the Greeks, as Cicero is among the Romans. See *Quintilian*, lib. viii. cap. 5.

(*b*) The siege of Troy is supposed to have been brought to a conclusion eleven hundred and ninety three years before the Christian æra. From that time to the sixth year of Vespasian (A. U. C. 828), when this Dialogue was had, the number of years that intervened was about 1268; a period which, with propriety, may be said to be little less than 1300 years.

(*c*) Demothenes died, before Christ 322 years, A. U. C. 432. From that time to the sixth of Vespasian, A. U. C. 828, the intervening space was about 396 years. Aper calls it little more than 400 years; but in a conversation-piece strict accuracy is not to be expected.

(*d*) In the rude state of astronomy, which prevailed during many ages of the world, it was natural that mankind should differ in their computation of time. The ancient Egyptians, according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. and Pliny the elder, lib. vii. s. 48, measured time by the new moons. Some called the summer one year, and the winter another. At first thirty days were a lunar year; three, four, and six months were afterwards added, and hence in the Egyptian chronology the vast number of years from the beginning of the world. Herodotus informs us, that the Egyptians, in process of time, formed the idea of the solar or solsticial year, subdivided into twelve months. The Roman year was at first lunar, consisting in the time of Romulus, of ten months. Numa Pompilius added two. Men saw a diversity in the seasons, and wishing to know the cause, began at length to perceive that the distance or proximity of the sun occasioned the various operations of nature: but it was long before the space of time, wherein that

luminary performs his course through the zodiac, and returns to the point from which he set out, was called a year. The great year (*annus magnus*), or the PLATONIC YEAR, is the space of time, wherein the seven planets complete their revolutions, and all set out again from the same point of the heavens, where their course began before. Mathematicians have been much divided in their calculations. Brotier observes, that Riccioli makes the great year 25,920 solar years; Tycho Brahe, 25,816; and Cassini, 24,800. Cicero expressly calls it a period of 12,954 years. *Horum annorum, quos in fastis habemus,* MAGNUS *annos duodecim millia nongentos quinquaginta quatuor amplectitur, solstitiales scilicet.* For a full and accurate dissertation on the ANNUS MAGNUS, see the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, tom. xxii. 4to edit. p. 82.

Brotier, in his note on this passage, relates a fact not universally known. He mentions a letter from one of the Jesuits on the mission, dated *Peking*, 25th October, 1725, in which it is stated, that in the month of March preceding, when Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury were in conjunction, the Chinese mathematicians fancied that an approximation of Saturn was near at hand, and, in that persuasion, congratulated the emperor YONG-TCHING on the renovation of the world, which was shortly to take place. The emperor received the addresses of the nobility, and gave credit to the opinion of the philosophers in all his public edicts. Meanwhile, *Father Kegler* endeavoured to undeceive the emperor, and to convince him that the whole was a mistake of the Chinese mathematicians: but he tried in vain; flattery succeeded at court, and triumphed over truth.

(*e*) The argument is this: If the great year is the measure of time; then, as it consists, according to Cicero, of 12,954 solar years, the whole being divided by twelve, every month of the great year would be clearly 1080 years. According to that calculation, Demosthenes not only lived in the same year with the persons engaged in the Dialogue, but it may be said in the same month. These are the months, to which Virgil alludes in the fourth eclogue:

Incipient magni procedere menses.

Section XVII.

(a) Menenius Agrippa was consul A. U. C. 251. In less than ten years afterwards, violent dissensions broke out between the patrician order and the common people, who complained that they were harassed and oppressed by their affluent creditors. One Sicinius was their factious demagogue. He told them, that it was in vain they fought the battles of their country, since they were no better than slaves and prisoners at Rome. He added, that men are born equal, that the fruits of the earth were the common birth-right of all, and an Agrarian law was necessary; that they groaned under a load of debts and taxes; and that a lazy and corrupt aristocracy battened at ease on the spoils of their labour and industry. By the advice of this incendiary, the discontented citizens made a secession to the Mons Sacer, about three miles out of the city. The fathers, in the mean time, were covered with consternation. In order, however, to appease the fury of the multitude, they dispatched Menenius Agrippa to their camp. In the rude unpolished style of the times (*prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo*, says Livy), that orator told them: "At the time when the powers of "man did not, as at present, co-operate to one useful end, and the "members of the human body had their separate interest, their "factions and cabals; it was agreed among them, that the belly "maintained itself by their toil and labour, enjoying, in the mid-"dle of all, a state of calm repose, pampered with luxuries, and "gratified with every kind of pleasure. A conspiracy followed, "and the several members of the body took the covenant. The "hand would no longer administer food; the mouth would not "accept it, and the drudgery of mastication was too much "for the teeth. They continued in this resolution, determined to "starve the treasury of the body, till they began to feel the con-"sequences of their ill-advised revolt. The several members lost "their former vigour, and the whole body was falling into a ra-"pid decline. It was then seen that the belly was formed for the "good of the whole; that it was by no means lazy, idle, and in-

" active; but while it was properly supported, took care to dis-
" tribute nourishment to every part, and having digested the sup-
" plies, filled the veins with pure and wholesome blood." The analogy, which this fable bore to the sedition of the Roman people, was understood and felt. The discontented multitude saw that the state of man, described by Menenius, was *like to an insurrection.* They returned to Rome, and submitted to legal government. *Tempore, quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentiebant, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerat, indignatas reliquas partes, suâ curâ, suo labore, ac ministerio ventri omnia quæri; ventrem in medio quietum, nihil aliud, quam datis voluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent. Hac ira dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa unà membra, totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse, ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse; nec magis ali quam alere eum; reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum, pariter in venas, maturum confecto cibo sanguinem.* Livy, lib. ii. s. 32. St. Paul has made use of a similar argument; " The body
" is not one member, but many; if the foot shall say, Because I am
" not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore, not of the body?
" And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of
" the body; is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were
" eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where
" were the smelling? But now hath God set the members every
" one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him. And if they
" were all one member, where were the body? But now are they
" many members, yet but one body: and the eye can not say unto the
" hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I
" have no need of you. And whether one member suffer, all the
" members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the mem-
" bers rejoice with it." *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, chap. xii. This reasoning of St. Paul merits the attention of those friends of innovation, who are not content with the station in

which God has placed them, and, therefore, object to all subordination, all ranks in society.

(*b*) Cæsar the dictator was, as the poet expresses it, *graced* with both Minervas. Quintilian is of opinion, that if he had devoted his whole time to the profession of eloquence, he would have been the great rival of Cicero. The energy of his language, his strength of conception, and his power over the passions, were so striking, that he may be said to have harangued with the same spirit that he fought. *Caius vero Cæsar, si foro tantum vaccasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur. Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat.* Lib. x. cap. 1. To speak of Cicero in this place, were to hold a candle to the sun. It will be sufficient to refer to Quintilian, who in the chapter above cited, has drawn a beautiful parallel between him and Demosthenes. The Roman orator, he admits, improved himself by a diligent study of the best models of Greece. He attained the warmth and the sublime of Demosthenes, the harmony of Plato, and the sweet flexibility of Isocrates. His own native genius supplied the rest. He was not content, as Pindar expresses it, to collect the drops that rained down from heaven, but had in himself the living fountain of that copious flow, and that sublime, that pathetic energy, which were bestowed upon him by the bounty of Providence, that in one man Eloquence might exert all her powers. *Nam mihi videtur Marcus Tullius, cum se totum ad imitationem Græcorum contulisset, effinxisse vim Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, jucunditatem Isocratis. Nec vero quod in quoque optimum fuit studio consecutus est tantum, sed plurimas vel potius omnes ex se ipso virtutes extulit immortalis ingenii beatissimâ ubertate. Non enim pluvias (ut ait Pindarus) aquas colligit, sed vivo gurgite exundat, dono quodam providentiæ genitus, in quo vires suas Eloquentia experiretur.* Lib. x. cap. 1.

(*c*) Marcus Cælius Rufus, in the judgment of Quintilian, was an orator of considerable genius. In the conduct of a prosecution, he was remarkable for a certain urbanity, that gave a secret charm

to his whole speech. It is to be regretted that he was not a man of better conduct and longer life. *Multum ingenii in Cælio, et præcipue in accusando multa urbanitas; dignusque vir, cui et mens melior, et vita longior contigisset.* Quint. lib. x. cap. 1. His letter to Cicero makes the eighth book of the *Epistolæ ad Familiares.* Velleius Peterculus says of him, that his style of eloquence and his cast of mind bore a resemblance to Curio, but raised him above that factious orator. His genius for mischief and evil deeds was not inferior to Curio, and his motives were strong and urgent, since his fortune was worse than even his frame of mind. *Marcus Cælius, vir eloquio animoque Curioni simillimus, sed in utroque perfectior; nec minus ingeniosè nequam, cum ne in modica quidem servari posset, quippe pejor illi res familiaris, quam mens.* Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. s. 68.

Licinius Macer Calvus, we are told by Seneca, maintained a long but unjust contention with Cicero himself for the palm of eloquence. He was a warm and vehement accuser, insomuch that Vatinius, though defended by Cicero, interrupted Calvus in the middle of his speech, and said to the judges, "Though this man "has a torrent of words, does it follow that I must be condemn-"ed?" *Calvus diu cum Cicerone iniquissimam litem de principatu eloquentiæ habuit; et usque eo violentus accusator et concitatus fuit, ut in media actione ejus surgeret Vatinius Reus, et exclamaret, Rogo vos, judices, si iste disertus est, ideo me damnari oportet?* Seneca, *Controv.* lib. iii. cap. 19. Cicero could not dread him as a rival, and it may therefore be presumed, that he has drawn his character with an impartial hand. Calvus was an orator more improved by literature than Curio. He spoke with accuracy, and in his composition showed great taste and delicacy; but, labouring to refine his language, he was too attentive to little niceties. He wished to make no bad blood, and he lost the good. His style was polished with timid caution; but while it pleased the ear of the learned, the spirit evaporated, and of course made no impression in the forum, which is the theatre of eloquence. *Ad Calvum revertamur; qui orator fuisset cum literis eruditior quam Curio, tum etiam accuratius quoddam dicendi, et exquisitius afferebat genus; quod*

quamquam scienter eleganterque tractabat, nimium tamen inquirens in se, atque ipse sese observans, metuensque ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat Itaque ejus oratio nimiâ religione attenuata, doctis et attentè audientibus erat illustris, a multitudine autem, et a foro, cui nata eloquentia est, devorabatur. De Claris Orat. s. 283. Quintilian says, there were, who preferred him to all the orators of his time. Others were of opinion that, by being too severe a critic on himself, he polished too much, and grew weak by refinement. But his manner was grave and solid; his style was chaste, and often animated. To be thought a man of attic eloquence was the height of his ambition. If he had lived to see his error, and to give to his eloquence a true and perfect form, not by retrenching (for there was nothing to be taken away,) but by adding certain qualities that were wanted, he would have reached the summit of his art. By a premature death his fame was nipped in the bud. *Inveni qui Calvum præferrent omnibus; inveni qui contrà crederent eum, nimiâ contra se calumniâ, verum sanguinem perdidisse. Sed est et sancta et gravis oratio, et castigata, et frequenter vehemens quoque. Imitator est autem Atticorum; fecitque illi properata mors injuriam, si quid adjecturus, non si quid detracturus fuit.* Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1.

(*d*) This was the famous Marcus Junius Brutus, who stood forth in the cause of liberty, and delivered his country from the usurpation of Julius Cæsar. Cicero describes him in that great tragic scene, brandishing his bloody dagger, and calling on Cicero by name, to tell him that his country was free. *Cæsare interfecto, statim cruentum altè extollens Marcus Brutus pugionem, Ciceronem nominatum exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus.* Philippic. ii. s. 28. The late Doctor Akenside has retouched this passage with all the colours of a sublime imagination.

> Look then abroad through nature, through the range
> Of planets, suns, and adamantine spheres,
> Wheeling unshaken through the void immense,
> And speak, O man! does this capacious scene

With half that kindling majesty dilate
Thy strong conception, as when Brutus rose
Refulgent from the stroke of Cæsar's fate,
Amid the crowd of patriots, and his arm
Aloft extending, like eternal Jove,
When guilt brings down the thunder, call'd aloud
On Tully's name, and shook his crimson steel,
And bade the father of his country hail!
For, lo! the tyrant prostrate in the dust,
And Rome again is free.

PLEASURES OF IMAG. b. i. ver. 487.

According to Quintilian, Brutus was fitter for philosophical speculations, and books of moral theory, than for the career of public oratory. In the former he was equal to the weight and dignity of his subject: you clearly saw that he believed what he said. *Egregius vero multoque quam in orationibus præstantior Brutus, suffecit ponderi rerum; scias eum sentire quæ dicit.* Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1.

For Asinius Pollio and Messala, see section xii. note (*e*).

(*e*) Hirtius and Pansa were consuls A. U. C. 711; *before* the Christian æra 43. In this year the famous *triple league*, called the TRIUMVIRATE, was formed between Augustus, Lepidus, and Antony. The *proscription*, or the list of those who were doomed to die for the crime of adhering to the cause of liberty, was also settled, and Cicero was one of the number. A band of assassins went in quest of him to his villa, called *Astura*, near the seashore. Their leader was one Popilius Lænas, a military tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended with success in a capital cause. They overtook Cicero in his litter. He commanded his servants to set him down, and make no resistance; then looking upon his executioners with a presence and firmness which almost daunted them, and thrusting his neck as forward as he could out of the litter, he bade them *do their work, and take what they wanted.* The murderers cut off his head, and both his hands. Popilius undertook to convey them to Rome, as the most agreeable present to Antony; without reflecting on the *infamy of carrying*

that head, which had saved his own. He found Antony in the forum, and upon showing the spoils which he brought, was rewarded upon the spot with the *honour of a crown, and about eight thousand pounds sterling.* Antony ordered the head to be *fixed upon the rostra, between the two hands*; a sad spectacle to the people, who beheld those mangled members, which used to exert themselves, from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of Rome. Cicero was killed on the seventh of December, about ten days from the settlement of the triumvirate, after he had lived *sixty-three years, eleven months, and five days.* See Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 494 to 498. Velleius Paterculus, after mentioning Cicero's death, breaks out in a strain of indignation, that almost redeems the character of that time-serving writer. He says to Antony, in a spirited apostrophe, You have no reason to exult: you have gained no point by paying the assassin, who stopped that eloquent mouth, and cut off that illustrious head. You have paid the wages of murder, and you have destroyed a consul, who was the conservator of the commonwealth. By that act you delivered Cicero from a distracted world, from the infirmities of old age, and from a life, which, under your usurpation, would have been worse than death. His fame was not to be crushed: the glory of his actions and his eloquence still remains, and you have raised it higher than ever. He lives, and will continue to live in every age and nation. Posterity will admire and venerate the torrent of eloquence, which he poured out against yourself, and will forever execrate the horrible murder, which you committed. *Nihil tamen egisti, Marce Antoni, (cogit enim excedere propositi formam operis erumpens animo ac pectore indignatio): nihil, inquam, egisti; mercedem cælestissimi oris, et clarissimi capitis abscissi numerando; auctoramentoque funebri ad conservatoris quondam reipublicæ tantique consulis irritando necem. Rapuisti tu Marco Ciceroni lucem sollicitam, et ætatem senilem, et vitam miseriorem te principe, quam sub te triumviro mortem. Famam vero, gloriamque factorum atque dictorum adeo non abstulisti, ut auxeris. Vivit, vivetque per omnium sæculorum memoriam; omnisque posteritas illius in te scripta mirabitur, tuum in eum factum execrabitur.* Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. s. 66.

(*f*) Between the consulship of Augustus, which began immediately after the destruction of Hirtius and Pansa, A. U. C. 711, and the death of that emperor, which was A. U. C. 767, fifty-six years intervened, and to the sixth of Vespasian (A. U. C. 828), about 118 years. For the sake of a round number, it is called in the Dialogue a space of 120 years.

(*g*) Julius Cæsar landed in Britain in the years of Rome 699 and 700. See *Life of Agricola*, s. xiii. note (*a*). It does not appear when Aper was in Britain; it could not be till the year of Rome 796, when Aulus Plautius, by order of the Emperor Claudius, undertook the conquest of the island. See *Life of Agricola*, s. xiv. note (*a*). At that time, the Briton who fought against Cæsar, must have been far advanced in years.

(*h*) A largess was given to the people, in the fourth year of Vespasian, when Domitian entered on his second consulship. This, Brotier says, appears on a medal, with this inscription: Cong. II. Cos. II. *Congiarium alterum, Domitiano consule secundùm.* The custom of giving large distributions to the people was for many ages established at Rome. Brotier traces it from Ancus Martius, the fourth king of Rome, when the poverty of the people called for relief. The like bounty was distributed by the generals, who returned in triumph. Lucullus and Julius Cæsar displayed, on those occasions, great pomp and magnificence. Corn, wine, and oil, were plentifully distributed, and the popularity, acquired by those means, was, perhaps, the ruin of the commonwealth. Cæsar lavished money. Augustus followed the example, and Tiberius did the same; but prodigality was not his practice. His politic genius taught him all the arts of governing. The bounties thus distributed, were called, when given to the people, CONGIARIA, and, to the soldiers, DONATIVA. Whoever desires to form an idea of the number of Roman citizens, who, at different times, received largesses, and the prodigious expense attending them, may see an account drawn up with diligent attention by Brotier, in an elaborate note on this passage. He begins with Julius Cæsar; and pursues the inquiry through the several successive emperors, fixing the date and expense at every period, as

low down as the consulship of Constantius and Galerius Maximianus; when, the empire being divided into the eastern and western, its former magnificence was, by consequence, much diminished.

(*i*) The person here called Corvinus was the same as Corvinus Messala, who flourished in the reign of Augustus, at the same time with Asinius Pollio. See s. xii. note (*e*).

Section XVIII.

(*a*) Servius Sulpicius Galba was consul A. U. C. 610, before the Christian æra 144. Cicero says of him, that he was, in his day, an orator of eminence. When he spoke in public, the natural energy of his mind supported him, and the warmth of his imagination made him vehement and pathetic: his language was animated, bold, and rapid; but when he, afterwards, took his pen in hand, to correct and polish, the fit of enthusiasm was over; his passions ebbed away, and the composition was cold and languid. *Galbam fortasse vis non ingenii solum, sed etiam animi, et naturalis quidam dolor, dicentem incendebat, efficiebatque, ut et incitata, et gravis, et vehemens esset oratio; dein cum otiosus stilum prehenderat, motusque omnis animi, tanquam ventus, hominem dejecerat flaccescebat oratio. Ardor animi non semper adest, isque cum consedit, omnis illa vis, et quasi flamma oratoris extinguitur. De Claris Orat.* s. 93. Suetonius says, that the person here intended was of consular dignity, and, by his eloquence, gave weight and lustre to his family. *Life of Galba*, s. iii.

(*b*) Caius Papirius Carbo was consul A. U. C. 634. Cicero wishes that he had proved himself as good a citizen, as he was an orator. Being impeached for his turbulent and seditious conduct, he did not choose to stand the event of a trial, but escaped the judgment of the senate by a voluntary death. His life was spent in forensic causes. Men of sense, who heard him, have reported, that he was a fluent, animated, and harmonious speaker; at times pathetic, always pleasing, and abounding with wit. *Carbo, quoad vita suppeditavit, est in multis judiciis causisque cognitus. Hunc qui audierant prudentes homines, canorum oratorum, et vo-*

labilem, et satis acrem, atque eundem et vehementem, et valde dulcem, et perfacetum fuisse dicebant. De Claris Orat. s. 105.

(*c*) Calvus and Cælius have been mentioned already. See s. xvii. note (*c*).

(*d*) Caius Gracchus was tribune of the people A U. C. 633. In that character he took the popular side against the patricians; and, pursuing the plan of the Agrarian law laid down by his brother, Tiberius Gracchus, he was able by his eloquence to keep the city of Rome in violent agitation. Amidst the tumult, the senate, by a decree, ordered the consul, Lucius Opimius, *to take care that the commonwealth received no injury*; and, says Cicero, not a single night intervened, before that magistrate put Gracchus to death. *Decrevit senatus, ut Lucius Opimius, consul, videret, ne quid detrimenti respublica caperet; nox nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones Caius Gracchus, clarissimo patre natus, avis majoribus. Orat.* i. *in Catilinam.* His reputation as an orator towers above all his contemporaries. Cicero says, the commonwealth and the interests of literature suffered greatly by his untimely end. He wishes that the love of his country, and not zeal for the memory of his brother, had inspired his actions. His eloquence was such as left him without a rival: in his diction what a noble splendour! in his sentiments, what elevation! and in the whole of his manner, what weight and dignity! His compositions, it is true, are not retouched with care; they want the polish of the last hand; what is well begun, is seldom highly finished; and yet he, if any one, deserves to be the study of the Roman youth. In him they will find what can, at once, quicken their genius, and enrich the understanding. *Damnum enim, illius immaturo interitu, res Romanæ, Latinæque literæ fecerunt. Utinam non tam fratri pietatem, quam patriæ præstare voluisset. Eloquentia quidem nescio an habuisset parem: grandis est verbis, sapiens sententiis, genere toto gravis. Manus extrema non accessit operibus ejus; præclare inchoata multa, perfecta non plane. Legendus est hic orator, si quisquam alius, juventuti;*

non enim solum acuere, sed etiam alere ingenium potest. De Claris Orat. s. 125, 126.

(e) This is the celebrated Marcus Portius Cato, commonly known by the name of Cato the censor. He was quæstor under Scipio, who commanded against the Carthaginians, A. U. C. 545. He rose through the regular gradations of the magistracy to the consulship. When prætor, he governed the province of Sardinia, and exerted himself in the reform of all abuses introduced by his predecessors. From his own person, and his manner of living, he banished every appearance of luxury. When he had occasion to visit the towns that lay within his government, he went on foot, clothed with the plainest attire, without a vehicle following him, or more than one servant, who carried the robe of office, and a vase to make libations at the altar. He sat in judgment with the dignity of a magistrate, and punished every offence with inflexible rigour. He had the happy art of uniting in his own person two things almost incompatible; namely, strict severity and sweetness of manners. Under his administration, justice was at once terrible and amiable. Plutarch relates that he never wore a dress that cost more than thirty shillings; that his wine was no better than what was consumed by his slaves; and that by leading a laborious life, he meant to harden his constitution for the service of his country. He never ceased to condemn the luxury of the times. On this subject a remarkable apothegm is recorded by Plutarch; *It is impossible*, said Cato, *to save a city, in which a single fish sells for more money than an ox.* The account given of him by Cicero in the Cato Major, excites our veneration of the man. He was master of every liberal art, and every branch of science, known in that age. Some men rose to eminence by their skill in jurisprudence; others by their eloquence; and a great number by their military talents. Cato shone in all alike. The patricians were often leagued against him, but his virtue and his eloquence were a match for the proudest connections. He was chosen CENSOR, in opposition to a number of powerful candidates, A. U. C. 568. He was the adviser of the third Punic war. The

question occasioned several warm debates in the senate. Cato always insisted on the demolition of Carthage: DELENDA EST CARTHAGO. He preferred an accusation against Servius Sulpicius Galba on a charge of peculation in Spain, A. U. C. 603; and though he was then ninety years old, according to Livy, (Cicero says he lived to eighty-five), he conducted the business with so much vigour, that Galba, in order to excite compassion, produced his children before the senate, and by that artifice escaped a sentence of condemnation. Quintilian gives the following character of Cato the censor: His genius, like his learning, was universal: historian, orator, lawyer, he cultivated the three branches; and what he undertook, he touched with a master-hand. The science of husbandry was also his. Great as his attainments were, they were acquired in camps, amidst the din of arms; and in the city of Rome, amidst scenes of contention, and the uproar of civil discord. Though he lived in rude unpolished times, he applied himself, when far advanced in the vale of years, to the study of Greek literature, and thereby gave a signal proof that even in old age the willing mind may be enriched with new stores of knowledge. *Marcus Censorius Cato, idem orator, idem historiæ conditor, idem juris, idem rerum rusticarum peritissimus fuit. Inter tot opera militiæ, tantas domi contentiones, rudi sæculo literas Græcas, ætate jam declinatâ didicit, ut esset hominibus documento, ea quoque percipi posse, quæ senes concupissent.* Lib. xii. cap. 11.

(*f*) Lucius Licinius Crassus is often mentioned, and always to his advantage, by Cicero DE CLARIS ORATORIBUS. He was born, as appears in that treatise (section 161), during the consulship of Lælius and Cæpio, A. U. C. 614: he was contemporary with Antonius, the celebrated orator, and father of Antony the triumvir. Crassus was about four-and-thirty years older than Cicero. When Philippus the consul showed himself disposed to encroach on the privileges of the senate, and, in the presence of that body, offered indignities to Licinius Crassus, the orator, as Cicero informs us, broke out in a blaze of eloquence against that violent outrage, concluding with that remarkable sentence: He

shall not be to me A CONSUL, to whom I am not A SENATOR. *Non est mihi consul, quia nec ego tibi senator sum.* See *Valerius Maximus*, lib. xli. cap. 2. Cicero has given his oratorical character. He possessed a wonderful dignity of language, could enliven his discourse with wit and pleasantry, never descending to vulgar humour; refined, and polished, without a tincture of scurrility. He preserved the true Latin idiom; in his selection of words accurate, with apparent facility; no stiffness, no affectation appeared; in his train of reasoning always clear and methodical; and, when the cause hinged upon a question of law, or the moral distinctions of good and evil, no man possessed such a fund of argument, and happy illustration. *Crasso nihil statuo fieri potuisse perfectius: erat summa gravitas; erat cum gravitate junctus facetiarum et urbanitatis oratorius, non scurrilis, lepos. Latinè loquendi accurata, et, sine molestiâ, diligens elegantia; in disserendo mira explicatio; cum de jure civili, cum de æquo et bono disputaretur, argumentorum et similitudinum copia. De Claris Orat.* s. 143. In Cicero's books DE ORATORE, Licinius Crassus supports a capital part in the Dialogue; but in the opening of the third book, we have a pathetic account of his death, written, as the Italians say, *con amore.* Crassus returned from his villa, where the dialogue passed, to take part in the debate against Philippus the consul, who had declared to an assembly of the people, that he was obliged to seek new counsellors, for with such a senate he could not conduct the affairs of the commonwealth. The conduct of Crassus, upon that occasion, has been mentioned already. The vehemence, with which he exerted himself, threw him into a violent fever, and on the seventh day following put a period to his life. Then, says Cicero, that tuneful swan expired: we hoped once more to hear the melody of his voice, and went, in that expectation, to the senate-house; but all that remained was to gaze on the spot where that eloquent orator spoke for the last time in the service of his country. *Illud immortalitate dignum ingenium, illa humanitas, illa virtus Lucii Crassi morte extincta subitâ est, vix diebus decem post eum diem, qui hoc et superiore libro continetur Illa tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox, et oratio, quam quasi expectantes, post ejus*

interitum, veniebamus in curiam, ut vestigium illud ipsum, in quo ille postremum institisset, contueremur. De Orat. lib. iii. s. 1 and 6. This passage will naturally call to mind the death of the great earl of Chatham. He went in a feeble state of health, to attend a debate of the first importance. Nothing could detain him from the service of his country. The dying notes of the BRITISH SWAN were heard in the House of Peers. He was conveyed to his own house, and on the eleventh of May 1778, he breathed his last. The news reached the House of Commons late in the evening, when Colonel BARRE had the honour of being the first to shed a patriot tear on that melancholy occasion. In a strain of manly sorrow, and with that unprepared eloquence which the heart inspires, he moved for a funeral at the public expense, and a monument to the memory of virtue and departed genius. By performing that pious office, Colonel BARRE may be said to have made his own name immortal. History will record the transaction.

(*g*) Messala Corvinus is often, in this Dialogue, called CORVINUS only. See s. xii. note (*e*).

(*h*) Appius Claudius was censor in the year of Rome 442; dictator, 465; and having at a very advanced age lost his sight, he became better known by the name of APPIUS CÆCUS. Afterwards, A. U. C. 472, when Pyrrhus, by his ambassador, offered terms of peace, and a treaty of alliance, Appius, whom blindness, and the infirmities of age, had for some time withheld from public business, desired to be conveyed in a litter to the senate-house. Being conducted to his place, he delivered his sentiments in so forcible a manner, that the fathers resolved to prosecute the war, and never to hear of an accommodation, till Italy was evacuated by Pyrrhus and his army. See Livy, b. xiii. s. 31. Cicero relates the same fact in his CATO MAJOR, and further adds, that the speech made by APPIUS CÆCUS was then extant. Ovid mentions the temple of Bellona, built and dedicated by Appius, who, when blind, saw every thing by the light of his understanding, and rejected all terms of accommodation with Pyrrhus.

Hac sacrata die Tusco Bellona duello
Dicitur, et Latio prospera semper adest.
Appius est auctor, Pyrrho qui pace negatâ
Multum animo vidit, lumine cæcus erat.
FASTORUM, lib. vi. ver. 201.

(i) Quintilian acknowledges this fact, with his usual candour. The question concerning ATTIC and ASIATIC eloquence was of long standing. The style of the former was close, pure, and elegant; the latter was said to be diffuse and ostentatious. In the ATTIC, nothing was idle, nothing redundant: the ASIATIC swelled above all bounds, affecting to dazzle by strokes of wit, by affectation and superfluous ornament. Cicero was said by his enemies to be an orator of the last school. They did not scruple to pronounce him turgid, copious to a fault, often redundant, and too fond of repetition. His wit, they said, was the false glitter of vain conceit, frigid, and out of season; his composition was cold and languid; wiredrawn into amplification, and fuller of meretricious finery than became a man. *Et antiqua quidem illa divisio inter Asianos et Atticos fuit; cum hi pressi, et integri, contra, inflati illi et inanes haberentur; et in his nihil superflueret, illis judicium maximè ac modus deeset. Ciceronem tamen et suorum hominum temporum incessere audebant ut tumidiorem, et Asianum, et redundantem, et in repetitionibus nimium, et in salibus aliquando frigidum, et in compositione fractum, exultantem, ac penè (quod procul absit) viro molliorem.* Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 10. The same author adds, that, when the great orator was cut off by Marc Antony's proscription, and could no longer answer for himself, the men who either personally hated him, or envied his genius, or chose to pay their court to the triumvirate, poured forth their malignity without reserve. It is unnecessary to observe, that Quintillian, in sundry parts of his work, has vindicated Cicero from these aspersions. See s. xvii. note (*b*).

(*k*) For Calvus, see s. xvii. note (*c*). For Brutus, see the same section, note (*d*). What Cicero thought of Calvus has been

already quoted from the tract *De Claris Oratoribus*, in note (*c*), s. xvii. By being too severe a critic on himself, he lost strength, while he aimed at elegance. It is, therefore, properly said in this Dialogue, that Cicero thought Calvus cold and enervated. But did he think Brutus disjointed, loose and negligent—*otiosum atque disjunctum?* That he often thought him disjointed is not improbable. Brutus was a close thinker, and he aimed at the precision and brevity of Attic eloquence. The sententious speaker is, of course, full and concise. He has no studied transitions, above the minute care of artful connections. To discard the copulatives for the sake of energy was a rule laid down by the best ancient critics. Cicero has observed that an oration may be said to be disjointed, when the copulatives are omitted, and strokes of sentiment follow one another in quick succession. *Dissolutio sive disjunctio est, quæ conjunctionibus e medio sublatis, partibus separatis effertur, hoc modo: Gere morem parenti; pare cognatis; obsequere amicis; obtempera legibus. Ad Herennium*, lib. iv. s. 41. In this manner, Brutus might appear disjointed, and that figure, often repeated, might grow into a fault. But how is the word OTIOSUS to be understood? If it means a neglect of connectives, it may, perhaps, apply to Brutus. There is no room to think that Cicero used it in a worse sense, since we find him in a letter to Atticus declaring, that the oratorical style of Brutus was, in language as well as sentiment, elegant to a degree that nothing could surpass. *Est enim oratio ejus scripta elegantissimè, sententiis et verbis, ut nihil possit ultra.* A grave philosopher, like Brutus, might reject the graces of transition and regular connection, and for that reason, might be thought negligent and abrupt. The disjointed style which the French call *style coupé*, was the manner cultivated by Seneca, for which Caligula pronounced him, sand without lime; *arenam sine calce.* Sueton. *Life of Calig.* s. 53. We know from Quintilian, that a spirit of emulation, and even jealousy, subsisted between the eminent orators of Cicero's time; that he himself was so far from ascribing perfection to Demosthenes, that he used to say, he often found him napping; that Brutus and Calvus sat in judgment on Cicero, and did not wish to conceal

their objections; and that the two Pollios were so far from being satisfied with Cicero's style and manner, that their criticisms were little short of declared hostility. *Quamquam neque ipsi Ciceroni Demosthenes videatur satis esse perfectus, quem dormitare interdum dicit; nec Cicero Bruto Calvoque, qui certè compositionem illius etiam apud ipsum reprehendunt; ne Asinio utrique, qui vitia orationis ejus etiam inimicè pluribus locis insequuntur.* Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 1.

Section XIX.

(*a*) Cassius Severus lived in the latter end of the reign of Augustus, and through a considerable part of that of Tiberius. He was an orator, according to Quintilian, who, if read with due caution, might serve as a model worthy of imitation. It is to be regretted, that to the many excellent qualities of his style he did not add more weight, more strength and dignity, and thereby give colour and a body to his sentiments. With those requisites, he would have ranked with the most eminent orators. To his excellent genius he united keen reflection, great energy, and a peculiar urbanity, which gave a secret charm to his speeches. But the warmth of his temper hurried him on; he listened more to his passions than to his judgment: he possessed a vein of wit, but he mingled with it too much acrimony; and wit, when it misses its aim, feels the mortification and the ridicule which usually attend disappointed malice. *Multa, si cum judicio legatur, dabit imitatione digna* Cassius Severus, *qui, si cæteris virtutibus colorem et gravitatem orationis adjecisset, ponendus inter præcipuos foret. Nam et ingenii plurimum est in eo, et acerbitas mira, et urbanitas, et vis summa; sed plus stomacho quàm consilio dedit; præterea ut amarissales, ita frequenter amaritudo ipsa ridicula est.* Lib. x. cap. 1. We read in Suetonius (*Life of Octavius*, s. 56), that Cassius had the hardiness to institute a prosecution for the crime of poisoning against Asprenas Nonius, who was, at the time, linked in the closest friendship with Augustus. Not content with accusations against the first men in Rome, he chose to vent his malevolence in lampoons and defamatory libels, against the most distinguished

of both sexes. It was this that provoked Horace to declare war against Cassius, in an ode (lib. v. ode 6), which begins *Quid immerentes hospites vexas, canis.* See an account of his malevolent spirit, *Annals*, b. i. s. 72. He was at length condemned for his indiscriminate abuse, and banished by Augustus to the isle of Crete. But his satirical rage was not to be controlled. He continued in exile to discharge his malignity, till, at last, at the end of ten years, the senate took cognisance of his guilt, and Tiberius ordered him to be removed from Crete to the Rock of Seriphos, where he languished in old age and misery. See *Annals*, b. iv. s. 21. The period of ancient oratory ended about the time when Cassius began his career. He was the first of the new school.

(*b*) These two rhetoricians flourished in the time of Augustus. Apollodorus, we are told by Quintilian (b. iii. chap. 1), was the preceptor of Augustus. He taught in opposition to Theodorus Gadareus, who read lectures at Rhodes, and was attended by Tiberius during his retreat in that island. The two contending masters were the founders of opposite sects, called the *Apollodorean* and *Theodorian*. But true eloquence, which knows no laws but those of nature and good sense, gained nothing by party-divisions. Literature was distracted by new doctrines; rhetoric became a trick in the hands of sophists, and all sound oratory disappeared. Hermagoras, Quintilian says, in the chapter already cited, was the disciple of Theodorus.

Section XX.

(*a*) Doctor Middleton says, "Of the seven excellent orations, which now remain on the subject of Verres, the two first only were spoken; the one called, *The Divination;* the other, *The first Action*, which is nothing more than a general preface to the whole cause. The other five were published afterwards, as they were prepared and intended to be spoken, if Verres had made a regular defence: for as this was the only cause in which Cicero had yet been engaged, or ever designed to be engaged, as *an accuser*, so he was willing to leave those orations as a specimen of his

abilities in that way, and the *pattern of a just and diligent impeachment of a great and corrupt magistrate.*" *Life of Cicero*, vol. i. p. 86, 4to edit.

(*b*) The Digest enumerates a multitude of rules concerning *exceptions* to persons, things, the form of the action, the niceties of pleading, and as the phrase is, motions in arrest of judgment. *Formula*, was the set of words necessary to be used in the pleadings. See the *Digest*, lib. xliv. tit. 1. *De Exceptionibus, Præscriptionibus, et Præjudiciis.* See also Cujacius, *observat.* xxiii.

(*c*) The oration for Marcus Tullius is highly praised by Macrobius, but is not to be found in Cicero's works. The oration for Aulus Cæcina is still extant. The cause was about the right of succession to a private estate, which depended on a subtle point of law, arising from the interpretation of the prætor's interdict. It shows Cicero's exact knowledge and skill in the civil law, and that his public character and employment gave no interruption to his usual diligence in pleading causes. Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, vol. i. p. 116, 4to edit.

(*d*) Roscius, in the last period of the republic, was the comedian whom all Rome admired for his talents. The great esteemed and loved him for his morals. Æsop, the tragedian, was his contemporary. Horace, in the epistle to Augustus, has mentioned them both with their proper and distinctive qualities.

> ——— Ea cum reprehendere coner
> Quæ GRAVIS Æsopus, quæ DOCTUS Roscius egit.

A certain measured gravity of elocution being requisite in tragedy, that quality is assigned to the former, and the latter is called Doctus, because he was a complete master of his art; so truly learned in the priciples of his profession, that he possessed, in a wonderful degree, the secret charm that gave inimitable graces to his voice and action. Quintillian, in a few words, has given a com-

mentary on the passage in Horace. Grief, he says, is expressed by slow and deliberate accents; for that reason, Æsop spoke with gravity; Roscius with quickness; the former being a tragedian, the latter a comedian. *Plus autem affectus habent leniora; ideoque Roscius citatior, Æsopus gravior fuit, quod ille comœdias, hic tragœdias egit.* Lib. xi. cap. 1. Cicero was the great friend and patron of Roscius. An elegant oration in his behalf is still extant. The cause was this: One FANIUS had made over to Roscius a young slave, to be formed by him to the stage, on condition of a partnership in the profits which the slave should acquire by acting. The slave was afterwards killed. Roscius prosecuted the murderer for damages, and obtained by composition, a little farm, worth about eight hundred pounds, for his particular share. FANNIUS also sued separately, and was supposed to have gained as much; but pretending to have recovered nothing, he sued ROSCIUS for the moiety of what he had received. One can not but observe, says Dr. Middleton, from Cicero's pleading, the wonderful esteem and reputation in which Roscius then flourished. Has Roscius, says he, defrauded his partner? Can such a stain stick upon such a man; a man, who, I speak it with confidence, has more integrity than skill, more veracity than experience; a man, whom the people of Rome know to be a better citizen than he is an actor: and while he makes the first figure on the stage for his art, is worthy of a seat in the senate for his virtue. *Quem populus Romanus meliorem virum quam histrionem esse arbitratur; qui ita dignissimus est scenâ propter artificium, ut dignissimus sit curiâ propter abstinentiam. Pro Roscio Comœdo*, s. 17. In another place Cicero says, he was such an artist, as to seem the only one fit to appear on the stage; yet such a man, as to seem the only one who should not come upon it at all. *Cum artifex ejusmodi sit, ut solus dignus videatur esse qui in scenâ spectetur; tum vir ejusmodi est, ut solus dignus videatur, qui eo non accedat. Pro Publ. Quinctio*, s. 78. What Cicero has said in his pleadings might be thought oratorical, introduced merely to serve the cause, if we did not find the comedian praised with equal warmth in the Dialogue DE ORATORE. It is there said of Roscius, that every thing he did, was per-

fect in the kind, and executed with consummate grace, with a secret charm, that touched, affected, and delighted the whole audience; insomuch, that when a man excelled in any other profession, it was grown into a proverb to call him THE ROSCIUS OF HIS ART. *Videtisne, quam nihil ab eo nisi perfecte, nihil nisi cum summâ venustate fiat? nihil, nisi ita ut deceat, et uti omnes moveat, atque delectet? Itaque hoc jam diu est consecutus, ut in quo quisque artificio excelleret, is in suo genere Roscius diceretur. De Orat.* lib. i. s. 130. After so much honourable testimony, one can not but wonder why the DOCTUS ROSCIUS of Horace is mentioned in this Dialogue with an air of disparagement. It may be, that APER, the speaker in this passage, was determined to degrade the orators of antiquity; and the comedian was, therefore, to expect no quarter. Dacier, in his notes on the Epistle to Augustus, observes that Roscius wrote a book, in which he undertook to prove to Cicero, that in all the stores of eloquence there were not so many different expressions for one and the same thing, as in the dramatic art there were modes of action, and casts of countenance, to mark the sentiment, and convey it to the mind with its due degree of emotion. It is to be lamented that such a book has not come down to us. It would, perhaps, be more valuable than the best treatise of rhetoric.

Ambivius Turpio acted in most of Terence's plays, and seems to have been a manager of the theatre. Cicero, in the treatise *De Senectute*, says: He who sat near him in the first rows, received the greatest pleasure; but still, those who were at the further end of the theatre, were delighted with him. *Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur, qui in primâ caveâ spectat; delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultimâ.*

(*e*) ACCIUS and PACUVIUS flourished at Rome about the middle of the sixth century from the foundation of the city. ACCIUS, according to Horace, was held to be a poet of a sublime genius, and Pacuvius (who lived to be ninety years old) was respected for his age and profound learning.

Ambigitur quoties uter utro sit prior, aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti.
Epist. ad Aug. ver. 56.

Velleius Paterculus says, that Accius was thought equal to the best writers of the Greek tragedy. He had not, indeed, the diligent touches of the polishing hand, which we see in the poets of Athens; but he had more spirit and vigour. *Accius usque in Græcorum comparationem erectus. In illis limæ, in hoc penè plus videri fuisse sanguinis* He is often quoted by Cicero in his book *De Naturâ Deorum.* But after all, it is from the great critic, who gives the best account of the Roman poets, orators, and historians, that we are to take the genuine character of Accius and Pacuvius, since their works are lost in the general mass of ancient literature. They were both excellent tragic poets: elevation of sentiment, grandeur of expression, and dignity of character, stamped a value on their productions; and, yet, we must not expect to find the grace and elegance of genuine composition. To give the finishing hand to their works was not their pracice: the defect, however, is not to be imputed to them; it was the vice of the age. Force and dignity are the characteristics of Accius; while the critics, who wish to be thought deep and profound, admire Pacuvius for his extensive learning. *Tragœdiæ scriptores Accius atque Pacuvius, clarissimi sententiarum verborumque pondere, et auctoritate personarum. Cæterum nitor, et summa in excolendis operibus manus, magis videri potest temporibus, quam ipsis defuisse. Virium tamem Accio plus tribuitur; Pacuvium videri doctiorem, qui esse docti affectant, volunt.* Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1. It was the fashion in Horace's time to prefer the writers of the old school to the new race that gave so much lustre to the Augustan age. In opposition to such erroneous criticism, the poet pronounces a decided judgment, which seems to be confirmed by the opinion of Quintilian.

Si quædam nimis antiquè, si pleraque durè
Dicere credit eos, ignavè multa fatetur,
Et sapit, et mecum facit, et Jove judicat æquo.
Epist. ad August. ver. 66.

But that sometimes their style uncouth appears,
And their harsh numbers rudely hurt our ears;
Or that full flatly flows the languid line,
He, who owns this, has Jove's assent and mine.

FRANCIS'S HORACE.

(*f*) Lucan was nephew to Seneca, and a poet of great celebrity. He was born, in the reign of Caligula, at Corduba in Spain. His superior genius made Nero his mortal enemy. He was put to death by that inhuman emperor, A. U. C. 818, in the twenty-seventh year of his age. See the *Annals*, b. xv. s. 70. As a writer, Quintilan says, that he possessed an ardent genius, impetuous, rapid, and remarkable for the vigour of his sentiments: but he chooses to class him with the orators, rather than the poets. *Lucanus ardens, et concitatus, et sententiis clarissimus; et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis annumerandus.* Lib. x. cap. 1. Scaliger, on the other hand, contends that Lucan was a true poet, and that the critics do but trifle, when they object that he wrote history, not an epic poem. STRADA, in his Prolusions, has given, among other imitations, a narrative in Lucan's manner; and, though he thinks that poet has not the skill of Virgil, he places him on the summit of Parnassus, managing his Pegasus with difficulty, often in danger of falling from the ridge of a precipice, yet delighting his reader with the pleasure of seeing him escape. This is the true character of Lucan. The love of liberty was his ruling passion. It is but justice to add, that his sentiments, when free from *antithesis* and the *Ovidian* manner, are not excelled by any poet of antiquity. From him, as well as from Virgil and Horace, the orator is required to cull such passages as will help to enrich his discourse; and the practice is recommended by Quintilian, who observes, that Cicero, Asinius Pollio, and others, frequently cited verses from Ennius, Accius Pacuvius, and Terence, in order to grace their speeches with polite literature, and enliven the imagination of their hearers. By those poetic insertions, the ear is relieved from the harsh monotony of the forum; and the poets, cited occasionally, serve by their authority to establish the proposition advanced by the speaker. *Nam præcipue quidem apud Ciceronem, frequenter tamen apud Asinium etiam, et cæteros, qui sunt proximi,*

vidimus ENNII, ACCII, PACUVII, TERENTII *et aliorum inseri versus, summâ non eruditionis modò gratiâ, sed etiam jucunditatis; cum poeticis voluptatibus aures a forensi aeperitate respirent, quibus accedit non mediocris utilitas, cum sententiis eorum, velut quibusdam testimoniis quæ proposuere confirmant.* Quintil. lib. i. cap. 8.

SECTION XXI.

(*a*) There is in this place a blunder of the copyists, which almost makes the sentence unintelligible. The translator, without entering into minute controversies, has, upon all such occasions, adopted what appeared, from the context, to be the most probable sense. It remains, therefore, to inquire, who were the several orators here enumerated. CANUTIUS may be the person mentioned by Suetonius *De Claris Rhetoribus.* Cicero says of ARRIUS, that he was a striking proof of what consequence it was at Rome to be useful to others, and always ready to be subservient to their honour, or to ward off danger. For, by that assiduity, Arrius raised himself from a low beginning to wealth and honours, and was even ranked in the number of orators, though void of learning, and without genius, or abilities. *Loco infirmo natus, et honores, et pecuniam, et gratiam consecutus, etiam in patronorum, sine doctrinâ, sine ingenio, aliquem numerum pervenerat. De Claris Orat.* s. 243. FURNIUS may be supposed, not without probability, to be the person with whom Cicero corresponded. *Epist. ad Familiares,* lib. x. ep. 25, 26. With regard to Terrianus we are left in the dark. The commentators offer various conjectures; but conjecture is often a specious amusement; the ingenious folly of men, who take pains to bewilder themselves, and reason to show their useless learning.

(*b*) The puny orators are said to be in an infirmary, like sickly men who were nothing but skin and bone. These, says Cicero, were admirers of the Attic manner; but it were to be wished that they had the wholesome blood, not merely the bones of their favourite declaimers. *Attico genere dicendi se gaudere dicunt; atque utinam imitarentur nec ossa solum, sed etiam et sanguinem.* Cicero *De Claris Oratoribus.*

(*c*) What is here said of Calvus is not confirmed by the the judgment of Quintilian. See s. xvii. note (*c*). His orations, which were extant at the time of this Dialogue, are now totally lost.

(*d*) For Quintilian's opinion of Cælius, see s. xvii. note (*c*).

(*e*) Here again Quintilian, that candid and able judge, has given a different opinion. See s. xvii. note (*b*). It may be proper to add the testimony of Velleius Paterculus. Cæsar, he says, had an elevation of soul, that towered above humanity, and was almost incredible; the rapid progress of his wars, his firmness in the hour of danger, and the grandeur of his vast conceptions, bore a near affinity to Alexander, but to Alexander neither drunk, nor mad with passion. *Animo super humanam et naturam, et fidem evectus, celeritate bellandi, patientia periculorum, magnitudine cogitationem; magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo, simillimus. Vel. Patercul.* lib. ii. s. 41. Even Cicero tells us, that, of all the eminent orators, he was the person who spoke the Latin language in the greatest purity, and arrived at that consummate perfection by study, by diligent application, and his thorough knowledge of all polite literature. *Illum omnium ferè oratorum Latinè loqui elegantissimè: ut esset perfecta illa benè loquendi laus, multis litteris, et iis quidem reconditis et exquisitis, summoque studio et diligentiâ est consecutus. De Claris Orat.* s. 252.

(*f*) Cæsar's speech for Decius the Samnite, and all his other productions (except the commentaries), are totally lost.

(*g*) This speech of Brutus is also lost with his other works. Cicero says, that he heard him plead the cause of Dejotarus with great elegance, and a flow of harmonious periods. *Causum Dejotari, fidelissimi atque optimi regis, ornatissimè et copiosissimè a Bruto me audisse defensam. De Claris Orat.* s. 21. He tells us in another place, that Cæsar observed of Brutus, that whatever he desired, he desired with ardour; and therefore, in the cause of Dejotarus, he exerted himself with warmth, with vehemence, and

great freedom of language. *Quidquid vult, valdè vult; ideoque, cum pro rege Dejotaro dixerit, valdè vehementer, eum virum, et liberè dicere. Ad Attic.* lib. xiv. ep. 1. The same Dejotarus was afterwards defended by Cicero before Cæsar himself. See the Oration *pro Rege Dejotaro*.

(*h*) See what is said of Asinius Pollio, s. xii. note (*e*).

(*i*) Pliny the younger has the same metaphorical allusions, which we here find in the Dialogue. Speaking of the difference between the oratorical and historical style; the latter, he says, may be content with the bones, the muscles, and the nerves; the former must have the prominence of the flesh, the brawny vigour, and the flowing mane. *Habent quidem oratio et historia multà communia, sed plura diversa in his ipsis, quæ communia videntur. Narrat sane illa, narrat hæc, sed aliter. Huic pleraque humilia, et sordida, et ex medio petita: illi omnia recondita, splendida, excelsa conveniunt. Hanc sæpius ossa, musculi, nervi; illam tori quidam, et quasi jubæ decent.* Lib. v. ep. 8.

(*k*) Messala Corvinus has been often mentioned. See for him s. xii. note (*e*).

Section XXII.

(*a*) The words *sententia* and *sensus* were technical terms with the critics of antiquity. Quintilian gives the distinct meaning of each, with his usual precision. According to the established usage, the word *sensus* signified our ideas or conceptions as they rise in the mind: by *sententia* was intended, a proposition, in the close of a period, so expressed, as to dart a sudden brilliancy, for that reason called *lumen orationis*. He says, these artificial ornaments, which the ancients used but sparingly, were the constant practice of the modern orators. *Consuetudo jam tenuit, ut mente concepta,* SENSUS *vocaremus; lumina autem, præcipuèque in clausulis posita,* SENTENTIAS. *Quæ minus crebra apud antiquos, nostris temporibus modo carent.* Lib. viii. cap. 5. These luminous sentences, Quintilian says, may be called the eyes of an oration; but eyes are not

to be placed in every part, lest the other members should lose their function. *Ego vero hæc lumina orationis velut oculos quosdam esse eloquentiæ credo: sed neque oculos esse toto corpore velim, ne cætera membra suum officium perdant.* Lib. viii. cap. 5. As Cowley says,

> Jewels at nose and lips but ill appear;
> Rather than all things wit, let none be there.

(*b*) In order to form a good style, the sentence should always be closed with variety, strength, and harmony. The ancient rhetoricians held this to be so essentially requisite, that Quintilian has given it a full discussion. That, he says, which offends the ear, will not easily gain admission to the mind. Words should be fitted to their places, so that they may aptly coalesce with one another. In building, the most ill shapen stones may be conveniently fixed; and in like manner, a good style must have proper words in proper places, all arranged in order, and closing the sentence with grace and harmony. *Nihil intrare potest in affectum, quod in aure, velut quodam vestibulo, statim offendit. Non enim ad pedes verba dimensa sunt; ideoque ex loco transferuntur in locum, ut jungantur quo congruunt maximè; sicut in structurâ saxorum rudium etiam ipsa enormitas invenit cui applicari, et in quo possit insistere. Felicissimus tamen sermo est, cui et rectus ordo, et apta junctura, et cum his numerus opportunè cadens contingit.* Quintil. lib. ix. cap. 4.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) The remark in this place alludes to a passage in the oration against Piso, where we find a frivolous stroke of false wit. Cicero reproaches Piso for his dissolute manners and his scandalous debauchery. Who, he says, in all that time, saw you sober? Who beheld you doing any one thing, worthy of a liberal mind? Did you once appear in public? The house of your colleague resounded with songs and minstrels; he himself danced naked in the midst of his wanton company; and while he *wheeled* about with alacrity in the *circular motion* of the dance, he never once thought of THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE. *Quis te illis diebus sobrium, quis*

agentem aliquid, quod esset libero dignum? Quis denique in publico vidit? Cum collegæ tui domus cantu et cymbalis personaret; cumque ipse nudus in convivio saltaret, in quo ne tum quidem, cum illum suum SALTATORIUM VERSARET ORBEM, FORTUNÆ ROTAM *pertimescebat. Oratio in Pisonem*, prima pars, s. 22. Delph. edit. vol. iii.

(*b*) The passage here alluded to, presents us with a double pun. The word *Verres* is the name of a man, and also signifies a *boar-pig*, as we read in Horace, *Verris obliquum meditantis ictum.* Lib. iii. ode 22. The word *jus* is likewise of twofold meaning, importing *law*, and *sauce*, or broth; *tepidumque ligurierit jus.* Lib. i. sat. 3. The objection to Cicero is, that playing on both the words, and taking advantage of their ambiguous meaning, he says it could not be matter of wonder that the *Verrian jus* was such bad HOG-SOUP. The wit (if it deserves that name) is mean enough; but, in justice to Cicero, it should be remembered, that he himself calls it frigid, and says, that the men, who in their anger could be so very facetious, as to blame the priest who did not sacrifice such a hog (*Verres*), were idle and ridiculous. He adds, that he should not descend to repeat such sayings (for they were neither witty, nor worthy of notice in such a cause), had he not thought it material to show, that the iniquity of VERRES was, in the mouth of the vulgar, a subject of ridicule, and a proverbial joke. *Hinc illi homines erant, qui etiam ridiculi inveniebantur ex dolore; quorum alii, ut audistis, negabant mirandum esse,* JUS *tam nequam esse* VERRINUM; *alii etiam frigidiores erant; sed quia stomachabantur, ridiculi videbantur esse, cum* SACERDOTEM *execrabantur, qui* VERREM *tam nequam reliquisset. Quæ ego non commemorarem (neque enim perfacetè dicta, neque porro hac severitate digna sunt) nisi vos id vellem recordari, istius nequitiam et iniquitatem tum in ore vulgi, atque communibus proverbiis esse versatam. In Verram*, lib. i. pars tertia, s. 121.

(*c*) Quintilian acknowledges that the words *esse videatur* (*it seems to be*) occur frequently in Cicero's Orations. He adds, that he knew several, who fancied that they had performed wonders,

when they placed that phrase in the close of a sentence. *Noveram quosdam, qui se pulchrè expressisse genus illud cœlestis hujus in dicendo viri sibi viderentur, si in clausulâ posuissent esse videatur.* Quintil. lib. x. cap. 2.

(*d*) The species of composition, called satire, was altogether of Roman growth. Lucilius had the honour of being the inventor; and he succeeded so well, that even in Quintilian's time, his admirers preferred him not only to the writers who followed in the same way, but to all poets of every denomination. *Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet imitatores, ut eum non ejusdem modo operis, sed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent.* Lib. x. cap. 1. The great critic, however, pronounces judgment in favour of Horace, who, he says, is more terse and pure; a more acute observer of life, and qualified by nature to touch the ridicule of the manners with the nicest hand. *Multo est tersior, ac purus magis Horatius et ad notandos hominum mores præcipuus.*

(*e*) Lucretius is not without his partisans at this hour. Many of the French critics speak of him with rapture; and, in England, Dr. Wharton of Winchester seems to be at the head of his admirers. He does not scruple to say that Lucretius had more spirit, fire, and energy, more of the *vivida vis animi*, than any of the Roman poets. It is neither safe nor desirable to differ from so fine a genius as Dr. Wharton The passages, which he has quoted from his favourite poet, show great taste in the selection. It should be remembered, however, that Quintilian does not treat Lucretius with the same passionate fondness. He places Virgil next to Homer; and the rest, he says, of the Roman poets follow at a great distance. MACER and LUCRETIUS deserve to be read: they have handled their respective subjects with taste and elegance; but Macer has no elevation, and Lucretius is not easily understood. *Cæteri omnes longe sequuntur. Nam* MACER *et* LUCRETIUS *legendi quidem; elegantes in suâ quisque materiâ sed alter humilis, alter difficilis.* Lib. x. cap. 1. Statius, the poet, who flourished in the reign of Domitian, knew the value of Lucretius, and,

in one line, seems to have given his true character; *et docti furor arduus Lucreti:* but had he been to decide between him and Virgil, it is probable, that he would say to Lucretius, as he did to himself,

> ——— Nec tu divinam Æneida tenta,
> Sed longe sequere, et vestigia semper adora.
> THEBAIDOS, lib. xii. ver. 816.

(*f*) Aufidius Bassus, and Servilius Nonianus were writers of history. Bassus, according to Quintilian, deserved great commendation, particularly in his History of the German war. In some of his other works he fell short of himself. Servilius Nonianus was known to Quintilian, and, in that critic's judgment, was an author of considerable merit; sententious in his manner, but more diffuse than becomes the historic character. See Quintilian, lib. x. cap. 1. The death of SERVILIUS, an eminent orator and historian, is mentioned, by Tacitus in the *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 19; but the additional name of NONIANUS is omitted. The passage, however, is supposed to relate to the person commended by Quintilian. He died in the reign of Nero, A. U. C. *812*, of the Christian æra 59.

(*g*) Varro was universally allowed to be the most learned of the Romans. He wrote on several subjects with profound erudition. Quintilian says, he was completely master of the Latin language, and thoroughly conversant in the antiquities of Greece and Rome. His works will enlarge our sphere of knowledge, but can add nothing to eloquence. *Peritissimus linguæ Latinæ, et omnis antiquitatis, et rerum Græcarum, nostrarumque; plus tamen scientiæ collaturus, quam eloquentiæ.* Lib. x. cap. 1.

Sisenna, we are told by Cicero, was a man of learning, well skilled in the Roman language, acquainted with the laws and constitution of his country, and possessed of no small share of wit, but eloquence was not his element, and his practice in the forum was inconsiderable. See *De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 228. In a subsequent part of the same work, Cicero says, that Sisenna was of

opinion, that to use uncommon words was the perfection of style. To prove this he relates a pleasant anecdote. One Caius Rufus carried on a prosecution. Sisenna appeared for the defendant; and, to express his contempt of his adversary, said that many parts of the charge deserved to be spit upon. For this purpose he coined so strange a word, that the prosecutor implored the protection of the judges. I do not, said he, understand Sisenna; I am circumvented; I fear that some snare is laid for me. What does he mean by *sputatilica?* I know that *sputa* is spittle: but what is *tilica?* The court laughed at the oddity of a word so strangely compounded. *Rufio accusante Critilium, Sisenna defendens dixit, quædam ejus* SPUTATILICA *esse crimina. Tum Caius Rufus, Circumvenior, inquit, judices, nisi subvenitis. Sisenna quid dicat nescio; metuo insidias.* SPUTATILICA! *quid est hoc!* Sputa *quid sit, scio*; tilica, *nescio. Maximi risus. De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 260. Whether this was the same Sisenna, who is said in the former quotation to have been a correct speaker, does not appear with any degree of certainty.

(*h*) For the character of Secundus, see s. ii. note (*c*).

(*i*) Quintilian says, the merit of a fine writer flourishes after his death, for envy does not go down to posterity. *Ad posteros enim virtus durabit, nec pervenient invidia.* Lib. iii. c. 1. Envy is always sure to pursue merit; and, therefore, Cleo observes to Alexander, that Hercules and Bacchus, were not numbered among the gods, till they conquered the malignity of their contemporaries. *Nec Herculem, nec Patrem Liberum prius dicatos deos, quam vicissent secum viventium invidiam.* Quintus Curtius, lib. viii. s. 18. Pliny the younger has a beautiful epistle on this subject. After praising, in the highest manner, the various works of Pompeius Saturninus, he says to his correspondent, Let it be no objection to such an author, that he is still living. If he flourished in a distant part of the world, we should not only procure his books, but we should have his picture in our houses: and shall

his fame be tarnished, because we have the man before our eyes? Shall malignity make us cease to admire him, because we see him, hear him, esteem and love him? *Neque enim debet operibus ejus obesse*, QUOD VIVIT. *An si inter eos, quos nunquam vidimus, floruisset, non solum libros ejus, verum etiam imagines conquireremus; ejusdem nunc honor præsentis et gratia quasi satietate languescet? At hoc pravum malignumque est, non admirari hominem admiratione dignissimum, quia videre, alloqui audire, complecti, nec laudare tantam, verum etiam amare contingit.* Lib. i. ep. 16.

SECTION XXIV.

(*a*) In the Dialogues of Plato, and others of the academic school, the ablest philosophers occasionally supported a wrong hypothesis, in order to provoke a thorough discussion of some important question.

(*b*) Cicero was killed on the seventh of December, in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, A. U. C. 711, before Christ 43. From that time to the sixth of Vespasian the number of years is exactly 117; though in the Dialogue said to be 120. See s. xvii. note (*e*).

SECTION XXV.

(*a*) See Plutarch's Lives of Lysias, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, and Hyperides. See also the elegant translation of the Orations of Lysias, by Dr. Gillies.

(*b*) For Quintilian's opinion of Cæsar's eloquence, see s. xvii. note (*b*). To what is there said may be added the authority of Cicero, who fairly owns, that Cæsar's constant habit of speaking his language with purity and correctness, exempted him from all the vices of the corrupt style adopted by others. To that politeness of expression (which every well-bred citizen, though he does not aspire to be an orator, ought to practise) when Cæsar adds the splendid ornaments of eloquence, he may then be said to place the finest pictures in the best light. In his manner there is no-

thing of professional craft; his voice is impressive, and his action dignified. To all these qualities he unites a certain majesty of mien and figure, that bespeaks a noble mind. *Cæsar autem rationem adhibens, consuetudinem vitiosam et corruptam purâ et incorruptâ consuetudine emendat. Itaque cum ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum (quæ etiam si orator non sis, et sis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen necessaria est) adjungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi; tum vidètur tanquam tabulas benè pictas collocare in bono lumine. Hanc cum habeat præcipuam laudem in communibus, non video cui debeat cedere. Splendidam quamdam, minimeque veteratoriam rationem dicendi tenet, voce, motu: formâ etiam magnificâ, et generosâ quodammodo. De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 261.

For Cælius, see s. xvii. note (*c*); and for Brutus, the same section, note (*d*).

(*c*) Servius Galba has been already mentioned, s. xviii. note (*a*). Caius Lælius was consul A. U. C. 614; before the Christian æra, 140. He was the intimate friend of Scipio, and the patron of Lucilius, the first Roman satirist. See Horace, lib. ii. sat. i. ver. 71.

> Quin ubi se a vulgo et scenâ in secreta remôrant
> Virtus Scipiadæ, et mitis sapientia Læli,
> Nugari cum illo, et discincti ludere, donec
> Decoqueretur olus, soliti.
>
> When Scipio's virtue, and of milder vein
> When Lælius' wisdom, from the busy scene
> And crowd of life, the vulgar and the great,
> Could with their favourite satirist retreat,
> Lightly they laugh'd at many an idle jest,
> Until their frugal feast of herbs was drest.
>
> FRANCIS'S HORACE.

It is probable, that the harsh manner of Lucilius, *durus componere versus*, infected the eloquence of Lælius, since we find in Cicero, that his style was unpolished, and had much of the rust

of antiquity. *Multo tamen vetustior et horridior ille quam Scipio, et, cum sint in dicendo variæ voluntates, delectari mihi magis antiquitate videtur, et lubenter verbis etiam uti paulo magis priscis Lælius. De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 83.

Section XXVI.

(*a*) For an account of Caius Gracchus, see s. xviii. note (*d*).

(*b*) For Lucius Crassus, see s. xviii. note (*f*).

(*c*) The false taste of Mæcenas has been noted by the poets and critics who flourished after his death. His affected prettinesses are compared to the prim curls, in which women and effeminate men tricked out their hair. Seneca, who was himself tainted with affectation, has left a beautiful epistle on the very question, that makes the main subject of the present Dialogue. He points out the causes of the corrupt taste, that debauched the eloquence of those times and imputes the mischief to the degeneracy of the manners. Whatever the man was, such was the orator. *Talis oratio qualis vita.* When ancient discipline relaxed, luxury succeeded, and language became delicate, brilliant, spangled with conceits. Simplicity was laid aside, and quaint expressions grew into fashion. Does the mind sink into languor? the body moves reluctantly. Is the man softened into effeminacy? you see it in his gait. Is he quick and eager? he walks with alacrity. The powers of the understanding are affected in the same manner. Having laid this down as his principle, Seneca proceeds to describe the soft delicacy of Mæcenas, and he finds the same vice in his phraseology. He cites a number of the lady-like terms, which the great patron of letters considered as exquisite beauties. In all this, says he, we see the man, who walked the streets of Rome in his open and flowing robe. *Nonne statim, cum hæc legis, occurrit hunc esse, qui solutis tunicis in urbe semper incesserit?* Seneca, epist. cxiv. What he has said of Mæcenas is perfectly just. The fopperies of that celebrated minister are in this Dialogue called CALAMISTRI; an allusion borrowed from Cicero, who praises

the beautiful simplicity of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, and says there were men of a vicious taste, who wanted to apply the *curling-iron*, that is, to introduce the glitter of conceit and antithesis in the place of truth and nature. *Commentaries quosdam scripsit rerum suarum, valde quidem probandos: nudi enim sunt, et recti, et venusti, omni ornatu orationis, tanquam veste, detracto. Ineptis gratum fortasse fecit, qui volunt illa* CALAMISTRIS *inurere.* Cicero *De Claris Orat.* s. 262.

(*d*) Who Gallio was, is not clearly settled by the commentators. Quintilian, lib. iii. cap. 1, makes mention of Gallio, who wrote a treatise of eloquence; and in the *Annals*, b. xv. s. 73, we find Junius Gallio, the brother of Seneca; but whether either of them is the person here intended, remains uncertain. Whoever he was, his eloquence was a tinkling cymbal. Quintilian says of such orators, who are all inflated, tumid, corrupt, and jingling, that their malady does not proceed from a full and rich constitution, but from mere infirmity; for

> As in bodies, thus in souls we find,
> What wants in blood and spirits, swell'd with wind.

Nam tumidos, et corruptos, et tinnulos, et quocumque alio cacozeliæ genere peccantes, certum habeo, non virium, sed infirmitatis vitio laborare: ut corpora non robore, sed valetudine inflantur. Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 3.

(*e*) Pliny declares, without ceremony, that he was ashamed of the corrupt effeminate style that disgraced the courts of justice, and made him think of withdrawing from the forum. He calls it sing-song, and says that nothing but musical instruments could be added. *Pudet referre, quæ quam fractâ pronunciatione, dicantur; quibus quam teneris clamoribus excipiantur. Plausus tantum, ac sola cymbala et tympana illis canticis desunt.* Pliny, lib. ii. epist. 14. The chief aim of Persius in his first satire is levelled against the bad poets of his time, and also the spurious orators, who enervated their eloquence by antithesis, far-fetched metaphors, and points of wit, delivered with the softest tone of voice, and ridiculous airs of affectation.

Fur es, ait Pedio: Pedius quid? Crimina rasis
Librat in antithesis; doctus posuisse figuras
Laudatur. Bellum hoc! hoc bellum? an Romule ceves?
Men' moveat quippe, et cantet si naufragus, assem
Protulerim? Cantas, cum fractâ te in trabe pictum
Ex humero portes? PERSIUS, sat. i. ver. 85.

Theft, says th' accuser, to thy charge I lay,
O Pedius: what does gentle Pedius say?
Studious to please the genius of the times,
With periods, points, and tropes, he slurs his crimes.
He lards with flourishes his long harangue:
'Tis fine, say'st thou: what! to be prais'd, and hang?
Effeminate Roman! shall such stuff prevail,
To tickle thee, and make thee wag thy tail?
Say, should a shipwreck'd sailor sing his wo,
Wouldst thou be mov'd to pity, and bestow
An alms? What's more prepost'rous than to see
A merry beggar? wit in misery!

DRYDEN' PERSIUS.

(*f*) For Cassius Severus, see s. xix. note (*a*).

(*g*) Gabinianus was a teacher of rhetoric in the reign of Vespasian. Eusebius, in his Chronicon, eighth of Vespasian, says, that Gabinianus, a celebrated rhetorician, was a teacher of eloquence in Gaul. *Gabinianus, celeberrimi nominis rhetor, in Galliâ docuit.* His admirers deemed him another Cicero, and, after him all such orators were called CICERONES GABINIANI.

SECTION XXVIII.

(*a*) In order to brand and stigmatise the Roman matrons, who committed the care of their infant children to hired nurses, Tacitus observes, that no such custom was known among the savages of Germany. See *Manners of the Germans*, s. xx. See also Quintilian, on the subject of education, lib. i. cap. 2 and 3.

(*b*) Cornelia, the mother of the two Gracchi, was daughter to the first Scipio Africanus. The sons, Quintilian says, owed much of their eloquence to the care and instructions of their

mother, whose taste and learning were fully displayed in her letters, which were then in the hands of the public. *Nam Gracchorum eloquentiæ multum contulisse accepimus Corneliam matrem, cujus doctissimus sermo in posteros quoque est epistolis traditus.* Quint. lib. i. cap. 1. To the same effect Cicero: *Fuit Gracchus diligentiâ Corneliæ matris a puero doctus, et Græcis litteris eruditus. De Claris Orat.* s. 104. Again, Cicero says, we have read the letters of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, from which it appears, that the sons were educated, not so much in the lap of their mother, as her conversation. *Legimus epistolas Corneliæ matris Gracchorum: apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos, quam in sermone matris. De Claris Orat.* s. 211. Pliny the elder informs us that a statue was erected to her memory, though Cato the Censor declaimed against showing so much honour to women, even in the provinces. But with all his vehemence he could not prevent it in the city of Rome. Pliny, lib. xxxiv. s. 14.

(*c*) For Aurelia, the mother of Julius Cæsar, see *The Genealogical Table of the Cæsars*, No. 2.

(*d*) For Atia, the mother of Augustus, see *Genealogical Table of the Cæsars*, No. 14. As another instance of maternal care, Tacitus informs us that Julia Procilla superintended the education of her son. See *Life of Agricola*, s. iv.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) Quintilian thinks the first elements of education so highly material, that he has two long chapters on the subject. He requires in the first place, that the language of the nurses should be pure and correct. Their manners are of great importance, but, he adds, let them speak with propriety. It is to them that the infant first attends; he listens, and endeavours to imitate them. The first colour, imbibed by yarn or thread, is sure to last. What is bad, generally adheres tenaciously. Let the child, therefore, not learn in his infancy what he must afterwards take pains to unlearn. *Ante omnia, ne sit vitiosus sermo nutricibus. Et morum quidem in his haud dubiè prior ratio est; rectè tamen etiam loquantur.*

Has primùm audiet puer; harum verba effingere imitando conabitur. Et naturâ tenacissimi sumus eorum, quæ rudibus annis percipimus; nec lanarum colores, quibus simplex ille candor mutatus est, elui possunt. Et hæc ipsa magis pertinaciter hærent, quæ deteriora sunt. Non assuescat ergo, ne dum infans quidem est, sermoni, qui dediscendus est. Quint. lib. i. cap. 1. Plutarch has a long discourse on the breeding of children, in which all mistakes are pointed out, and the best rules enforced with great acuteness of observation.

(*b*) Juvenal has one entire satire on the subject of education:

> Nil dictu fœdum visuque hæc limina tangat,
> Intri quæ puer est. Procul hinc, procul inde puellæ,
> Lenonum, et cantus pernoctantis parasiti.
> Maxima debetur puero reverentia.
>
> SAT. xiv. ver. 44.

> Suffer no lewdness, no indecent speech
> Th' apartment of the tender youth to reach.
> Far be from thence the glutton parasite,
> Who sings his drunken catches all the night.
> Boys from their parents may this rev'rence claim.
>
> DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

(*c*) The rage of the Romans for the diversions of the theatre, and public spectacles of every kind, is often mentioned by Horace, Juvenal, and other writers under the emperors. Seneca says, that, at one time, three ways were wanted to as many different theatres: *tribus eodem tempore theatris viæ postulantur.* And again, the most illustrious of the Roman youth are no better than slaves to the pantomimic performers. *Ostendam nobilissimos juvenes mancipia pantomimorum.* Epist. 47. It was for this reason that Petronius lays it down as a rule to be observed by the young student, never to list himself in the parties and factions of the theatre:

> ——— Neve plausor in scenâ
> Sedeat redemptus, histrioniæ addictus.

It is well known, that theatrical parties distracted the Roman

citizens, and rose almost to frenzy. They were distinguished by the *green* and the *blue*. Caligula, as we read in Suetonius, attached himself to the former, and was so fond of the charioteers, who wore green liveries, that he lived for a considerable time in the stables, where their horses were kept. *Prasinæ factioni ita addictus et deditus, ut cœnaret in stabulo assidue et maneret.* *Life of Caligula*, s. 55. Montesquieu reckons such party-divisions among the causes that wrought the downfall of the empire. Constantinople, he says, was split into two factions, the *green* and the *blue*, which owed their origin to the inclination of the people to favour one set of charioteers in the circus rather than another. These two parties raged in every city throughout the empire, and their fury rose in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Justinian favoured the *blues*, who became so elate with pride, that they trampled on the laws. All ties of friendship, all natural affection, and all relative duties were extinguished. Whole families were destroyed; and the empire was a scene of anarchy and wild contention. He, who felt himself capable of the most atrocious deeds, declared himself a BLUE, and the GREENS were massacred with impunity. *Montesquieu, Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, chap. xx.

(*d*) Quintilian, in his tenth book, chap. 1, has given a full account of the best Greek and Roman poets, orators and historians; and in b. ii. chap. 6, he draws up a regular scheme for the young student to pursue in his course of reading. There are, he says, two rocks, on which they may split. The first, by being led by some fond admirer of antiquity to set too high a value on the manner of Cato and the Gracchi; for, in that commerce, they will be in danger of growing dry, harsh, and rugged. The strong conception of those men will be beyond the reach of tender minds. Their style, indeed, may be copied; and the youth may flatter himself, when he has contracted the rust of antiquity, that he resembles the illustrious orators of a former age. On the other hand, the florid decorations and false glitter of the moderns may have a secret charm, the more dangerous, and seductive, as

the petty flourishes of our new way of writing may prove acceptable to the youthful mind. *Duo autem genera maximè cavenda pueris puto: unum, ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum, Catonisque, et aliorum similium lectione durescere velit. Erunt enim horridi atque jejuni. Nam neque vim eorum adhuc intellectu consequentur; et elocutione, quæ tum sine dubio erat optima, sed nostris temporibus aliena, contenti, quod est pessimum, similes sibi magnis viris videbuntur. Alterum, quod huic diversum est, ne recentis hujus lasciviæ flosculis capti, voluptate quâdam pravâ deliniantur, ut prædulce illud genus, et puerilibus ingeniis hoc gratius, quo propius est, adament.* Such was the doctrine of Quintilian. His practice, we may be sure, was consonant to his own rules. Under such a master the youth of Rome might be initiated in science, and formed to a just taste for eloquence, and legitimate composition; but one man was not equal to the task. The rhetoricians and pedagogues of the age preferred the novelty and meretricious ornaments of the style then in vogue.

Section XXX.

(*a*) This is the treatise, or history of the most eminent orators (De Claris Oratoribus), which has been so often cited in the course of these notes. It is also entitled Brutus; a work replete with the soundest criticism, and by its variety and elegance always charming.

(*b*) Quintus Mucius Scævola was the great lawyer of his time. Cicero draws a comparison between him and Crassus. They were both engaged, on opposite sides, in a cause before the centumviri. Crassus proved himself the best lawyer among the orators of that day, and Scævola the most eloquent of the lawyers. *Ut eloquentium juris peritissimus Crassus; jurisperitorum eloquentissimus Scævola putaretur. De Claris Orat.* s. 145. During the consulship of Sylla, A. U. C. 666, Cicero being then in the nineteenth year of his age, and wishing to acquire a competent knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence, attached himself to Mucius Scævola, who did not undertake the task of instructing

pupils, but by conversing freely with all who consulted him, gave a fair opportunity to those, who thirsted after knowledge. *Ego autem juris civilis studio, multum operæ dabam Q. Scævolæ, qui quamquam nemini se ad docendum dabat, tamen, consulentibus respondendo, studiosos audiendi docebat. De Claris Orat.* s. 306.

(*c*) Philo was a leading philosopher of the academic school. To avoid the fury of Mithridates, who waged a long war with the Romans, he fled from Athens, and, with some of the most eminent of his fellow citizens, repaired to Rome. Cicero was struck with his philosophy, and became his pupil. *Cum princeps academiæ Philo, cum Atheniensium optimatibus, Mithridatico bello, domo profugisset, Romamque venisset, totum ei me tradidi, admirabili quodam ad philosophiam studio concitatus. De Claris Orat.* s. 306.

Cicero adds, that he gave board and lodging, at his own house, to Diodotus the Stoic, and under that master, employed himself in various branches of literature, but particularly in the study of logic, which may be considered as a mode of eloquence, contracted, close, and nervous. *Eram cum stoico Diodoto: qui cum habitavisset apud me, mecumque vixisset, nuper est domi meæ mortuus. A quo, cum in aliis rebus, tum studiosissime in dialecticâ exercebar, quæ quasi contracta et adstricta eloquentia putanda est. De Claris Orat.* s. 309.

(*d*) Cicero gives an account of his travels, which he undertook, after having employed two years in the business of the forum, where he gained an early reputation. At Athens, he passed six months with Antiochus, the principal philosopher of the old academy, and, under the direction of that able master, resumed those abstract speculations which he had cultivated from his earliest youth. Nor did he neglect his rhetorical exercises. In that pursuit, he was assisted by Demetrius, the Syrian, who was allowed to be a skilful preceptor. He passed from Greece into Asia; and, in the course of his travels through that country, he lived in constant habits with Menippus of Stratonica; a man eminent for his learning; who, if to be neither frivolous, nor unintelligible, is the

character of Attic eloquence, might fairly be called a disciple of that school. He met with many other professors of rhetoric, such as Dionysius of Magnesia, Æschylus of Cnidos, and Zenocles of Adramytus; but not content with their assistance, he went to Rhodes, and renewed his friendship with MOLO, whom he had heard at Rome, and knew to be an able pleader in real causes; a fine writer, and a judicious critic, who could, with a just discernment of the beauties as well as the faults of a composition, point out the road to excellence, and improve the taste of his scholars. In his attention to the Roman orator, the point he aimed at (Cicero will not say that he succeeded) was, to lop away superfluous branches, and confine within its proper channel a stream of eloquence, too apt to swell above all bounds, and overflow its banks. After two years thus spent in the pursuit of knowledge, and improvement in his oratorical profession, Cicero returned to Rome almost a new man. *Is* (MOLO) *dedit operam* (*si modo id consequi potuit*) *ut nimis redundantes nos, et superfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate, et licentiâ, reprimeret, et quasi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret. Ita recepi me biennio post, non modo exercitatior, sed propè mutatus.* See *De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 315 and 316.

(*e*) Cicero is here said to have been a complete master of philosophy, which, according to Quintilian, was divided into three branches, namely, physics, ethics, and logic. It has been mentioned in this section, note (*c*), that Cicero called logic a contracted and close mode of eloquence. That observation is fully explained by Quintilian. Speaking of logic, the use, he says, of that contentious art, consists in just definition, which presents to the mind the precise idea; and in nice discrimination, which marks the essential difference of things. It is this faculty that throws a sudden light on every difficult question, removes all ambiguity, clears up what was doubtful, divides, develops, and separates, and then collects the argument to a point. But the orator must not be too fond of this close combat. The minute attention, which logic requires, will exclude what is of higher value; while it aims at precision, the vigour of the mind is lost in subtlety.

We often see men, who argue with wonderful craft; but when petty controversy will no longer serve their purpose, we see the same men without warmth or energy, cold, languid, and unequal to the conflict; like those little animals, which are brisk in narrow places, and by their agility baffle their pursuers, but in the open field are soon overpowered. *Hæc pars dialectica, sive illam dicere malimus disputatricem, ut est utilis sæpe et finitionibus, et comprehensionibus, et separandis quæ sunt differentia, et resolvendâ ambiguitate, et distinguendo, dividendo, illiciendo, implicando; ita si totum sibi vindicaverit in foro certamen, obstabit melioribus, et sectas ad tenuitatem vires ipsâ subtilitate consumet. Itaque reperias quosdam in disputando mirè callidos; cum ab illâ verò cavillatione discesserint, non magis sufficere in aliquo graviori actu, quam prava quædam animalia, quæ in angustiis mobilia, campo deprehenduntur.* Quint. lib. xii. cap. 2.

Ethics, or moral philosophy, the same great critic holds to be indispensably requisite. *Jam quidem pars illa moralis, quæ dicitur ethice, certè tota oratori est accommodata. Nam in tantâ causarum varietate, nulla ferè dici potest, cujus non parte aliquâ tractatus æqui et boni reperiantur.* Lib. xii. Unless the mind be enriched with a store of knowledge, there may be loquacity, but nothing that deserves the name of oratory. Eloquence, says Lord Bolingbroke, must flow like a stream that is fed by an abundant spring, and not spout forth a little frothy stream, on some gaudy day, and remain dry for the rest of the year. See *Spirit of Patriotism.*

With regard to natural philosophy, Quintilian has a sentiment so truly sublime, that to omit it in this place would look like insensibility. If, says he, the universe is conducted by a superintending Providence, it follows that good men should govern the nations of the earth. And if the soul of man is of celestial origin, it is evident that we should tread in the paths of virtue, all aspiring to our native source, not slaves to passion, and the pleasures of the world. These are important topics; they often occur to the public orator, and demand all his eloquence. *Nam si regitur providentiâ mundus, administranda certè bonis viris erit respublica. Si divina nostris animis origo, tendendum ad virtutem, nec voluptа-*

tibus terreni corporis serviendum. An hoc non frequenter tractavit orator? Quint. lib. xii. cap. 2.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) Quintilian, as well as Seneca, has left a collection of school-declamations, but he has given his opinion of all such performances. They are mere imitation, and, by consequence, have not the force and spirit which a real cause inspires. In public harangues, the subject is founded in reality; in declamations, all is fiction. *Omnis imitatio ficta est; quo fit ut minus sanguinis ac virium declamationes habeant, quam orationes; quod in his vira, in illis assimulata materia est.* Lib. x. cap. 2. Petronius has given a lively description of the rhetoricians of his time. The consequence, he says, of their turgid style, and the pompous swell of sounding periods, has ever been the same: when their scholars enter the forum, they look as if they were transported into a new world. The teachers of rhetoric have been the bane of all true eloquence. *Hæc ipsa tolerabilia essent, si ad eloquentiam ituris viam facerent: nunc et rerum tumore, et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu, hoc tantum proficiunt, ut quum in forum venerint, putent se in alium terrarum orbem delatos. Pace vestrâ liceat dixisse, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidistis.* Petron. *in Satyrico*, cap. 1 and 2. That gay writer, who passed his days in luxury and voluptuous pleasures (see his character, *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 18), was, amidst all his dissipation, a man of learning, and, at intervals, of deep reflection. He knew the value of true philosophy, and, therefore, directs the young orator to the Socratic school, and to that plan of education which we have before us in the present Dialogue. He bids his scholar begin with Homer, and there drink deep of the Pierian spring: after that, he recommends the moral system; and, when his mind is thus enlarged, he allows him to wield the arms of Demosthenes.

——————— Det primos virsibus annos,
Mæoniumque bibat felici pectore fontem:
Mox et Socratico plenus grege mutet habenas
Liber, et ingentis quatiat Demosthenis arma.

(*b*) Cicero has left a book, entitled TOPICA, in which he treats at large of the method of finding proper arguments. This, he observes, was executed by Aristotle, whom he pronounces the great master both of invention and judgment. *Cum omnis ratio diligens disserendi duas habeat partes; unam* INVENIENDI *alteram* JUDICANDI; *utriusque princeps, ut mihi quidem videtur, Aristoteles fuit.* Ciceronis *Topica*, s. vi. The sources from which arguments may be drawn, are called LOCI COMMUNES, COMMON PLACES. To supply the orator with ample materials, and to render him copious on every subject, was the design of the Greek preceptor, and for that purpose he gave his Topica. *Aristoteles adolescentes, non ad philosophorum morem tenuiter disserendi, sed ad copiam rhetorum in utramque partem, ut ornatius et uberius dici posset, exercuit; idemque locos (sic enim appellat) quasi argumentorum notas tradidit, unde omnes in utramque partem traheretur oratio.* Cicero, *De Oratore*. Aristotle was the most eminent of Plato's scholars; he retired to a *gymnasium*, or place of exercise, in the neighbourhood of Athens, called the *Lyceum*, where, from a custom, which he and his followers observed, of discussing points of philosophy, as they walked in the *porticos* of the place, they obtained the name of *Peripatetics*, or the walking philosophers. See Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, vol. ii. p. 537, 4to edit.

(*c*) The academic sect derived its origin from Socrates, and its name from a celebrated *gymnasium*, or place of exercise, in the suburbs of Athens, called the *Academy*, after *Ecademus*, who possessed it in the time of the *Tyndaridæ*. It was afterwards purchased, and dedicated to the public, for the convenience of walks and exercises for the citizens of Athens. It was gradually improved with plantations, groves and porticos, for the particular use of the professors or masters of the academic school; where several of them are said to have spent their lives, and to have resided so strictly, as scarce ever to have come within the city. See Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 536. Plato, and his followers, continued to reside in the porticos of the academy. They chose

——————————The green retreats
Of Academus, and the thymy vale,
Where oft enchanted with Socratic sounds,
Ilyssus pure devolv'd his tuneful stream
In gentle murmurs.

AKENSIDE, PLEAS. OF IMAG.

For dexterity in argument, the orator is referred to this school, for the reason given by Quintilian, who says that the custom of supporting an argument on either side of the question, approaches nearest to the orator's practice in forensic causes. *Academiam quidam utilissimam credunt, quod mos in utramque partem disserendi ad exercitationem forensium causarum proximè accedat.* Lib. xii. cap. 2. Quintilian assures us that we are indebted to the academic philosophy for the ablest orators, and it is to that school that Horace sends his poet for instruction:

Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ,
Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.

ARS. POET. ver. 310.

Good sense, that fountain of the muse's art,
Let the rich page of Socrates impart;
. . . .
And if the mind with clear conception glow,
The willing words in just expressions flow.

FRANCIS'S HORACE.

(*d*) Epicurus made frequent use of the rhetorical figure, called exclamation; and in his life, by Diogenes Laertius, we find a variety of instances. It is for that manner of giving animation to a discourse that Epicurus is mentioned in the Dialogue. For the rest, Quintilian tells us what to think of him. Epicurus, he says, dismisses the orator from his school, since he advises his pupil to pay no regard to science or to method. *Epicurus imprimis nos a se ipse dimittit, qui fugere omnem disciplinam navigatione quam velocissima jubet.* Lib. xii. cap. 2. Metrodorus was the favourite disciple of Epicurus. Brotier says that a statue of the master and the scholar, with their heads joined together, was found at Rome in the year 1748.

It is worthy of notice, that except the stoics, who without aiming at elegance of language, argued closely and with vigour, Quintilian proscribes the remaining sects of philosophers. Aristippus, he says, placed his *summum bonum* in bodily pleasure, and therefore could be no friend to the strict regimen of the accomplished orator. Much less could Pyrrho be of use, since he doubted whether there was any such thing in existence as the judges, before whom the cause must be pleaded. To him the party accused, and the senate, were alike non-entities. *Neque vero Aristippus, summum in voluptate corporis bonum ponens, ad hunc nos laborem adhortetur. Pyrrho quidem, quas in hoc opere partes habere potest? cui judices esse apud quos verba faciat, et reum pro quo loquatur, et senatum, in quo sit dicenda sententia, non liquebat.* Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 2.

Section XXXII.

(*a*) We are told by Quintilian, that Demosthenes, the great orator of Greece, was an assiduous hearer of Plato: *Constat Demosthenem, principem omnium Græciæ oratorum, dedisse operam Platoni.* Lib. xii. cap. 2. And Cicero expressly says, that if he might venture to call himself an orator, he was made so, not by the manufacture of the schools of rhetoric, but in the walks of the Academy. *Fateor me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiæ spatiis extitisse. Ad Brutum Orator.* s. xii.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) The ancient critics made a wide distinction between a mere facility of speech, and what they called the oratorical faculty. This is fully explained by Asinius Pollio, who said of himself, that, by pleading at first with propriety, he succeeded so far as to be often called upon; by pleading frequently, he began to lose the propriety with which he set out; and the reason was, by constant practice he acquired rashness, not a just confidence in himself; a fluent facility, not the true faculty of an orator. *Commodè agen-*

do, factum est, ut sæpè agerem; sæpè agendo, ut minus commodè; quia scilicet nimia facilitas magis quam facultas, nec fiducia, sed temeritas paratur. Quintilian, lib. xii.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) There is in this place a trifling mistake, either in Messala, the speaker, or in the copyists. Crassus was born A.U.C 614. See s. xviii. note (*f*). Papirius Carbo, the person accused, was consul A. U. C. 634, and the prosecution was in the following year, when Crassus expressly says that he was then one-and-twenty. *Quippe qui omnium maturimè ad publicas causas accesserim, annoseque natus* UNUM ET VIGINTI, *nobilissimum hominem et eloquentissimum in judicium vocárim.* Cicero. *De Orat.* lib. iii. s. 74. Pliny the consul was another instance of early pleading. He says himself, that he began his career in the forum at the age of nineteen, and after long practice, could only see the functions of an orator as it were in a mist. *Undevicesimo ætatis anno dicere in foro cæpi, et nunc demum, quid præstare debeat orator, adhuc tamen per caliginem video.* Lib. v. epist. 8. Quintilian relates of Cæsar, Calvus, and Pollio, that they all three appeared at the bar, long before they arrived at their quæstorian age, which was seven-and-twenty. *Calvus, Cæsar, Pollio multum ante quæstoriam omnes ætatem gravissima judicia susceperunt.* Quintilian, lib. xii. cap. 6.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) Lipsius, in his note on this passage, says, that he once thought the word *scena* in the text ought to be changed to *schola;* but he afterwards saw his mistake. The place of fictitious declamation and spurious eloquence, where the teachers played a ridiculous part, was properly called a theatrical scene.

(*b*) Lucius Licinius Crassus and Domitius Ænobarbus were censors A. U. C. 662. Crassus himself informs us, that, for two years together, a new race of men, called rhetoricians, or masters of eloquence, kept open schools at Rome, till he thought fit to exercise his censorian authority, and by an edict to banish the whole tribe from the city of Rome; and this, he says, he did not as some

people suggested, to hinder the talents of youth from being cultivated, but to save their genius from being corrupted, and the young mind from being confirmed in shameless ignorance. Audacity was all the new masters could teach; and this being the only thing to be acquired on that stage of impudence, he thought it the duty of a Roman censor to crush the mischief in the bud. *Latini (si diis placet) hoc biennio magistri dicendi extiterunt; quos ego censor edicto meo sustuleram; non quo (ut nescio quos dicere aiebant) acui ingenia adolescentium nollem, sed, contra, ingenia obtundi nolui, corroborari impudentiam. Hos vero novos magistros nihil intelligebam posse docere, nisi ut auderent. Hoc cum unum traderetur, et cum impudentiæ ludus esset, putavi esse censoris, ne longius id serperet, providere. De Orat.* lib. iii. s. 93 and 94. Aulus Gellius mentions a former expulsion of the rhetoricians, by a decree of the senate, in the consulship of Fannius Strabo and Valerius Messala, A. U. C. 593. He gives the words of the decree, and also of the edict, by which the teachers were banished by Crassus, several years after. See *A. Gellius, Noctes Atticæ*, lib. xv. cap. 2. See also Suetonius, *De Claris Rhet.* s. i.

(c) Seneca has left a collection of declamations in the two kinds, viz. the persuasive, and controversial. See his SUASORIÆ, and CONTROVERSIÆ. In the first class, the questions are, Whether Alexander should attempt the Indian ocean? Whether he should enter Babylon, when the augurs denounced impending danger? Whether Cicero, to appease the wrath of Marc Antony, should burn all his works? The subjects in the second class are more complex. A priestess was taken prisoner by a band of pirates, and sold to slavery. The purchaser abandoned her to prostitution. Her person being rendered venal, a soldier made his offers of gallantry. She desired the price of her prostituted charms; but the military man resolved to use force and insolence, and she stabbed him in the attempt. For this she was prosecuted, and acquitted. She then desired to be restored to her rank of priestess: that point was decided against her. These instances may serve as a specimen of the trifling declamations, into which such

a man as Seneca was betrayed by his own imagination. Petronius has described the literary farce of the schools. Young men, he says, were there trained up in folly, neither seeing nor hearing any thing that could be of use in the business of life. They were taught to think of nothing, but pirates loaded with fetters on the sea-shore; tyrants by their edicts commanding sons to murder their fathers; the responses of oracles demanding a sacrifice of three or more virgins, in order to abate an epidemic pestilence. All these discourses, void of common sense, are tricked out in the gaudy colours of exquisite eloquence, soft, sweet, and seasoned to the palate. In this ridiculous boys-play the scholars trifle away their time; they are laughed at in the forum, and still worse, what they learn in their youth they do not forget at an advanced age. *Ego adolescentulos existimo in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil ex iis, quæ in usu habemus, aut audiunt aut vident; sed piratas cum catenis in littore stantes, et tyrannos edicta scribentes, quibus imperent filiis, ut patrum suorum capita præcidant; sed responsa in pestilentiâ data, ut virgines tres aut plures immolentur, sed mellitos verborum globos, et omnia dicta factaque quasi papavere et sesamo sparsa. Nunc pueri in scholis ludunt; juvenes ridentur in foro; et, quod utroque turpius est, quod quisque perperam didicit, in senectute confiteri non vult.* Petron. *in Satyrico*, cap. 3 and 4.

(*d*) Here unfortunately begins a chasm in the original. The words are *Cum ad veros judices ventum est, * * * * rem cogitare * * * * nihil humile, nihil abjectum eloqui poterat.* This is unintelligible. What follows from the words *magna eloquentia sicut flamma*, palpably belongs to Maternus, who is the last speaker in the Dialogue. The whole of what Secundus said is lost. The expedient has been to divide the sequel between Secundus and Maternus; but that is mere patch-work. We are told in the first section of the Dialogue, that the several persons present spoke their minds, each in his turn assigning different, but probable causes, and at times agreeing on the same. There can, therefore, be no doubt but Secundus took his turn in the course of the

inquiry. Of all the editors of Tacitus, Brotier is the only one who has adverted to this circumstance. To supply the loss, as well as it can now be done by conjecture, that ingenious commentator has added a Supplement, with so much taste, and such a degree of probability, that it has been judged proper to adopt what he has added. The thread of the discourse will be unbroken, and the reader, it is hoped, will prefer a regular continuity to a mere vacant space. The inverted commas in the margin of the text will mark the supplemental part, as far as section xxxvi. where the Original proceeds to the end of the Dialogue. The sections of the supplement will be marked, for the sake of distinction, with figures, instead of the Roman numeral letters.

SUPPLEMENT.

Section 1.

(*a*) Petronius says, you may as well expect that the person, who is for ever shut up in a kitchen, should be sweet and fresh, as that young men, trained up in such absurd and ridiculous interludes, should improve their taste or judgment. *Qui inter hæc nutriuntur, non magis sapere possunt, quam benè olere, qui in culinâ habitant.* Petronius, *in Satyrico*, s. ii.

Section 2.

(*a*) The means, by which an orator is nourished, formed, and raised to eminence, are here enumerated. These are the requisites, that lead to that distinguished eloquence, which is finely described by Petronius, when he says, a sublime oration, but sublime within due bounds, is neither deformed with affectation, nor turgid in any part, but depending on truth and simplicity, rises to unaffected grandeur. *Grandis, et, ut ita dicam, pudica oratio, non est maculosa, nec turgida, sed naturali pulchritudine exsurgit.* Petronius, *in Satyrico*, s. 2.

Section 3.

(*a*) Maternus engaged for himself and Secundus, that they would communicate their sentiments: see s. xvi. In consequence of that promise, Messala now calls upon them both. They have already declared themselves admirers of ancient eloquence. It now remains to be known, whether they agree with Messala as to the cause that occasioned a rapid decline: or, whether they can produce new reasons of their own.

Section 4.

(*a*) Secundus proceeds to give his opinion. This is managed by Brotier with great art and judgment, since it is evident in the

original text that Maternus closed the debate. According to what is said in the introduction to the Dialogues Secundus agrees with Messala upon most points, but still assigns different, but probable reasons. A revolution, he says, happened in literature; a new taste prevailed, and the worst models were deemed worthy of imitation. The emotions of the heart were suppressed. Men could no longer yield to the impulse of genius. They endeavoured to embellish their composition with novelty; they sparkled with wit, and amused their readers with point, antithesis, and forced conceits. They fell into the case of the man, who, according to Martial, was ingenious but not eloquent:

> Cum sexaginta numeret Casselius annos;
> Ingeniosus homo est: quando disertus erit?
>
> Lib. vii. epig. 8.

(*b*) Enough, perhaps, has been already said in the notes concerning the teachers of rhetoric; but it will not be useless to cite one passage more from Petronius, who in literature, as well as convivial pleasure, may be allowed to be *arbiter elegantiarum*. The rhetoricians, he says, came originally from Asia; they were, however, neither known to Pindar, and the nine lyric poets, nor to Plato, or Demosthenes. They arrived at Athens in evil hour, and imported with them that enormous frothy loquacity, which at once, like a pestilence, blasted all the powers of genius, and established the rules of corrupt eloquence. *Nondum umbraticus doctor ingenia deleverat, cum Pindarus novemque lyrici Homericis versibus canere non timuerunt. Certe neque Platona, neque Demosthenem ad hoc genus exercitationis accessisse video. Nuper ventosa isthæc et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asia commigravit, animoque juvenum ad magna surgentes veluti pestilenti quodam sidere afflavit; simulque corruptæ eloquentiæ regula stetit et obtinuit.* Petron. *Satyricon*, s. 2.

Section 5.

(*a*) When the public taste was vitiated, and to *elevate and surprise*, as Bayes says, was the *new way of writing*, Seneca is, with

good reason, ranked in the class of ingenious, but affected authors. Menage says, if all the books in the world were in the fire, there is not one, whom he would so eagerly snatch from the flames as Plutarch. That author never tires him; he reads him often, and always finds new beauties. He can not say the same of Seneca; not but there are admirable passages in his works, but when brought to the test, they lose their apparent beauty by a close examination. Seneca serves to be quoted in the warmth of conversation, but is not of equal value in the closet. Whatever be the subject, he wishes to shine, and, by consequence, his thoughts are too refined, and often *false*. *Menagiana*, tom. ii. p. i.

Section 6.

(*a*) This charge against Seneca is by no means new. Quintilian was his contemporary; he saw, and heard the man, and, in less than twenty years after his death, pronounced judgment against him. In the conclusion of the first chapter of his tenth book, after having given an account of the Greek and Roman authors, he says, he reserved Seneca for the last place, because, having always endeavoured to counteract the influence *of* a *bad* taste, he was supposed to be influenced by motives of personal enmity. But the case was otherwise. He saw that Seneca was the favourite of the times, and, to check the torrent that threatened the ruin of all true eloquence, he exerted his best efforts to diffuse a sounder judgment. He did not wish that Seneca should be laid aside: but he could not, in silence, see him preferred to the writers of the Augustan age, whom that writer endeavoured to depreciate, conscious, that, having chosen a different style, he could not hope to please the taste of those, who were charmed with the authors of a former day. But Seneca was still in fashion; his partisans continued to admire, though it can not be said that they imitated him. He fell short of the ancients, and they were still more beneath their model. Since they were content to copy, it were to be wished that they had been able to vie with him. He pleased by his defects, and the herd of imitators chose the worst. They acquired a vicious manner, and flattered

themselves that they resembled their master. But the truth is, they disgraced him. Seneca, it must be allowed, had many great and excellent qualities; a lively imagination; vast erudition, and extensive knowledge. He frequently employed others to make researches for him, and was often deceived. He embraced all subjects; in his philosophy, not always profound, but a keen censor of the manners, and on moral subjects truly admirable. He has brilliant passages, and beautiful sentiments; but the expression is in a false taste, the more dangerous, as he abounds with delightful vices. You would have wished that he had written with his own imagination, and the judgment of others. To sum up his character: had he known how to rate little things; had he been above the petty ambition of always shining; had he not been fond of himself; had he not weakened his force by minute and dazzling sentences; he would have gained, not the admiration of boys, but the suffrage of the judicious. At present he may be read with safety by those, who have made acquaintance with better models. His works afford the fairest opportunity of distinguishing the beauties of fine writing from their opposite vices. He has much to be approved, and even admired: but a just selection is necessary, and it is to be regretted that he did not choose for himself. Such was the judgment of Quintilian: the learned reader will, perhaps, be glad to have the whole passage in the author's words, rather than be referred to another book. *Ex industriâ Senecam, in omni genere eloquentiæ versatum, distuli, propter vulgatam falso de me opinionem, quâ damnare eum, et invisum quoque habere sum creditus. Quod accidit mihi, dum corruptum, et omnibus vitiis fractum dicendi genus revocare ad severiora judicia contendo. Tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adolescentium fuit. Quem non equidem omnino conabar excutere, sed potioribus præferri non sinebam, quos ille non destiterat incessere, cum, diversi sibi conscius generis, placere se in dicendo posse iis quibus illi placerent, diffideret. Amabant autem eum magis, quàm imitabantur; tantumque ab illo defluebant, quantum ille ab antiquis descenderat. Foret enim optandum, pares, aut saltem proximos, illi viro fieri. Sed placebat propter sola vitia, et ad ea se quisque dirigebat effingenda, quæ poterat. Deinde eum*

se jactaret eodem modo dicere, Senecam infamabat. Cujus et multæ alioqui et magnæ virtutes fuerunt; ingenium facile et copiosum; plurimum studii; et multarum rerum cognitio, in quâ tamen aliquando ab iis, quibus inquirenda quædam mandabat, deceptus est. Tractavit etiam omnem ferè studiorum materia; in philosophiâ parum diligens, egregius tamen vitiorum insectatur. Multa in eo claræque sententiæ; multa etiam morum gratiâ legenda; sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciosissima, quod abundat dulcibus vitiis. Velles eum suo ingenio dixisse, alieno judicio. Nam si aliqua contempsisset; si parum concupisset, si non omnia sua amasset; si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum, quàm puerorum amore comprobaretur. Verùm sic quoque jam robustis, et severiore genere satis firmatis, legendus, vel ideo, quod exercere potest utrimque judicium. Multa enim (ut dixi) probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda sunt; eligere modo curæ sit, quod utinam ipse fecisset. Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1. From this it is evident, that Seneca, even in the meridian of his fame and power, was considered as the grand corrupter of eloquence. The charge is, therefore, renewed in this dialogue, with strict propriety. Rollin, who had nourished his mind with ancient literature, and was, in his time, the Quintilian of France, has given the same opinion of Seneca, who, he says, knew how to play the critic on the works of others, and to condemn the strained metaphor, the forced conceit, the tinsel sentence, and all the blemishes of a corrupt style, without desiring to weed them out of his own productions. In a letter to his friend (epist. 114,) which has been mentioned section xxvi. note (*c*), Seneca admits a general depravity of taste, and with great acuteness, and, indeed, elegance, traces it to its source, to the luxury and effeminate manners of the age; he compares the florid orators of his time to a set of young fops, well powdered and perfumed, just issuing from their toilette: *Barbâ et comâ nitidos, de capsulâ totos*; he adds, that such affected finery is not the true ornament of a man. *Non est ornamentum virile, concinnitas.* And yet, says Rollin, he did not know that he was sitting to himself for the picture. He aimed for ever at something new, far fetched, ingenious, and pointed.

He preferred wit to truth and dignified simplicity. The marvellous was with him better than the natural; and he chose to surprise and dazzle, rather than merit the approbation of sober judgment. His talents placed him at the head of the fashion, and with those enchanting vices, which Quintilian ascribes to him, he was, no doubt, the person, who contributed most to the corruption of taste and eloquence. See Rollin's *Belles Lettres*, vol. i. *sur le Goût*. Another eminent critic, L'Abbe Gedoyn, who has given an elegant translation of Quintilian, has, in the preface to that work, entered fully into the question concerning the decline of eloquence. He admits that Seneca did great mischief, but he takes the matter up much higher. He traces it to Ovid, and imputes the taste for wit and spurious ornament, which prevailed under the emperors, to the false, but seducing charms of that celebrated poet. Ovid was, undoubtedly, the greatest wit of his time; but his wit knew no bounds. His fault was exuberance. *Nescivit quod bene cessit relinquere*, says Seneca, who had himself the same defect. Whatever is Ovid's subject, the redundance of a copious fancy still appears. Does he bewail his own misfortunes? he seems to think, that, unless he is witty, he can not be an object of compassion. Does he write letters to and from disappointed lovers? the greatest part flows from fancy, and little from the heart. He gives us the brilliant for the pathetic. With these faults, Ovid had such enchanting graces, that his style and manner infected every branch of literature. The tribe of imitators had not the genius of their master; but, being determined to shine in spite of nature, they ruined all true taste and eloquence. This is the natural progress of imitation, and Seneca was well aware of it. He tells us that the faults and blemishes of a corrupt style are ever introduced by some superior genius, who has risen to eminence in bad writing; his admirers imitate a vicious manner, and thus a false taste goes round from one to another. *Hæc vitia unus aliquis inducit, sub quo tunc eloquentia est: cæteri imitantur; et alter alteri tradunt.* Epist. 114. Seneca, however, did not know that he was describing himself. Tacitus says he had a genius suited to

the taste of the age. *Ingenium amœnum et temporis ejus, auribus accommodatum.* He adopted the faults of Ovid, and was able to propagate them. For these reasons, the Abbé Gedoyn is of opinion, that Ovid began the mischief, and Seneca laid the axe to the root of the tree. It is certain, that during the remaining period of the empire, true eloquence never revived.

Section 7.

(*a*) Historians have concurred in taxing Vespasian with avarice, in some instances, mean and sordid; but they agree, at the same time, that the use, which he made of his accumulated riches, by encouraging the arts, and extending liberal rewards to men of genius, is a sufficient apology for his love of money.

(*b*) Titus, it is needless to say, was the friend of virtue and of every liberal art. Even that monster Domitian was versed in polite learning, and by fits and starts capable of intense application: but we read in Tacitus, that his studies and his pretended love of poetry served as a cloak to hide his real character. See *History*, b. iv. s. 86.

(*c*) Pliny the younger describes the young men of his time rushing forward into the forum without knowledge or decency. He was told, he says, by persons advanced in years, that, according to ancient usage, no young man, even of the first distinction, was allowed to appear at the bar, unless he was introduced by one of consular dignity. But, in his time, all fences of respect and decency were thrown down. Young men scorned to be introduced; they forced their way, and took possession of the forum without any kind of recommendation, *At hercule ante memoriam meam (majores natu ita solent dicere), ne nobilissimis quidem adolescentibus locus erat, nisi aliquo consulari producente; tantâ veneratione pulcherrimum opus celebrabatur. Nunc refractis pudoris et reverentiæ claustris, omnia patent omnibus. Nec inducuntur, sed irrumpunt.* Plin. lib. ii. epist. 14.

SECTION 8.

(*a*) This want of decorum before the tribunals of justice would appear incredible, were it not well attested by the younger Pliny. The audience, he says, was suited to the orators. Mercenary wretches were hired to applaud in the courts, where they were treated at the expense of the advocate, as openly as if they were in a banqueting-room. *Sequuntur auditores actoribus similes, conducti et redempti mancipes. Convenitur in mediâ basilicâ, ubi tam palam sportulæ quam in triclinio dantur.* Plin. lib. ii. epist. 14. He adds in the same epistle, LARGIUS LICINIUS first introduced this custom, merely that he might procure an audience. *Primus hunc audiendi morem induxit Largius Licinius, hactenus tamen ut auditores corrogaret.*

(*b*) This anecdote is also related by Pliny, in the following manner: Quintilian, his preceptor, told him that one day, when he attended Domitius Afer in a cause before the *centumviri*, a sudden and outrageous noise was heard from the adjoining court. Afer made a pause; the disturbance ceased, and he resumed the thread of his discourse. He was interrupted a second and a third time. He asked, who was the advocate that occasioned so much uproar? Being told, that Licinius was the person, he addressed himself to the court in these words: *Centumviri! all true eloquence is now at an end. Ex Quintiliano, præceptore meo, audisse memini: narrabat ille, Assectabar Domitium Afrum, cum apud centumviros diceret graviter et lentè (hoc enim illi actionis genus erat), audiit et proximo immodicum insolitumque clamorem; admiratus reticuit; ubi silentium factum est, repetit quod abruperat; iterum clamor, iterum reticuit; et post silentium, cæpit idem tertio. Novissimè quis diceret? quæsivit. Responsum est Licinius. Tum intermissâ causâ,* CENTUMVIRI, *inquit,* HOC ARTIFICIUM PERIIT. Lib. ii. ep. 14. Domitius Afer has been mentioned, s. xiii. note (*d*). To what is there said of him may be added a fact related by Quintilian, who says that Afer, when old and superannuated, still continued at the bar exhibiting the decay of genius, and every day diminishing that high reputation, which he once possessed.

Hence men said of him, he had rather *decline* than *desist: Malle eum deficere, quam desinere.* Quint. lib. xii. cap. 11.

(*c*) The men who applauded for hire, went from court to court to bellow forth their venal approbation. Pliny says, no longer ago than yesterday, two of my *nomenclators*, both about the age of seventeen, were bribed to play the part of critics. Their pay was about three *denarii*: that at present is the price of eloquence. *Ex judicio in judicium pari mercede transitur. Heri duo nomenclatores mei (habent sane ætatem eorum, qui nuper togas sumpserunt) ternis denariis ad laudandum trahebantur. Tanti constat, ut sis disertus.* Lib. ii. epist. 14.

(*d*) The whole account of the trade of puffing is related, in the Dialogue, on the authority of Pliny, who tells us that those wretched sycophants had two nick-names; one in Greek Σοφοκλεῖς, and the other in Latin, LAUDICÆNI; the former from *sophos*, the usual exclamation of applause, as in Martial: *Quid tam grande sophos clamat tibi turba togata*; the Latin word importing *parasites*, who sold their praise for a supper. *Inde jam non inurbanè Σοφοκλεῖς, vocantur, iisdem nomen Latinum impositum est,* LAUDICÆNI. *Et tamen crescit indies fœditas utraque linguâ notata.* Lib. ii. epist. 14.

SECTION 10.

(*a*) Pliny tells us, that he employed much of his time in pleading causes before the *centumviri:* but he grew ashamed of the business, when he found those courts attended by a set of bold young men, and not by lawyers of any note or consequence. But still the service of his friends, and his time of life, induced him to continue his practice for some while longer, lest he should seem, by quitting it abruptly, to fly from fatigue, not from the indecorum of the place. He contrived, however, to appear but seldom, in order to withdraw himself by degrees. *Nos tamen adhuc et utilitas amicorum, et ratio ætatis, moratur ac retinet. Veremur enim ne fortè non has indignitates reliquisse, sed laborem fugisse videamur. Sumus tamen solito rariores, quod initium est gradatim desinendi.* Lib. ii. epist. 14.

Section 11.

(*a*) The person here distinguished from the rest of the rhetoricians, is the celebrated Quintilian, of whose elegant taste and superior judgment it were superfluous to say a word. Martial has given his character in two lines.

> Quintiliane, vagæ moderator summe juventæ,
> Gloria Romanæ, Quintiliane, togæ.
>
> Lib. ii. epig. 90.

It is generally supposed that he was a native of *Calaguris* (now *Calahorra*), a city in Spain, rendered famous by the martial spirit of Sertorius, who there stood a siege against Pompey. Vossius, however, thinks that he was born a Roman; and Gedoyn (the elegant translator mentioned section 6, note (*a*), accedes to that opinion, since Martial does not claim him as his countryman. The same writer says, that it is still uncertain when Quintilian was born and when he died; but, after a diligent inquiry, he thinks it probable that the great critic was born towards the latter end of Tiberius; and, of course, when Domitius Afer died in the reign of Nero, A. U. C. 812, A. D. 59, that he was then two-and-twenty. His Institutions of an Orator were written in the latter end of Domitian, when Quintilian, as he himself says, was far advanced in years. The time of his death is no where mentioned, but it, probably, was under Nerva or Trajan. It must not be dissembled, that this admirable author was not exempt from the epidemic vice of the age in which he lived. He flattered Domitian, and that strain of adulation is the only blemish in his work. The love of literature may be said to have been his ruling passion; but in his estimation, learning and genius are subordinate to honour, truth, and virtue.

Section 12.

(*a*) Maternus, without contradicting Messala, or Secundus, gives his opinion, viz. that the decline of eloquence, however other causes might conspire, was chiefly occasioned by the ruin of a free constitution. To this he adds another observation, which

seems to be founded in truth, as we find that, since the revival of letters, Spain has produced one CERVANTES; France, one MOLIERE; England, one SHAKESPEARE, and one MILTON.

SECTION 13.

(*a*) Examples of short, abrupt, and even sublime speeches out of the mouth of barbarians, might, if occasion required it, be produced in great abundance. Mr. Locke has observed, that the humours of a people may be learned from their usage of words. Seneca has said the same, and, in epistle cxiv, has explained himself on the subject with acute reasoning and beautiful illustration. The whole letter merits the attention of the judicious critic. The remainder of this, and the following section, serve to enforce the proposition of the speaker, viz. that Roman eloquence died with public liberty. The supplement ends here. The original text is resumed in the next section, and proceeds unbroken to the end of the Dialogue.

SECTION XXXVI.

(*a*) When great and powerful eloquence is compared to a flame, that must be supported by fresh materials, it is evident that the sentence is a continuation, not the opening of a new argument. It has been observed, and it will not be improper to repeat, that, the two former speakers (Messala and Secundus) having stated, according to their way of thinking, the causes of corrupt eloquence, Maternus, as was promised in the outset of the Dialogue, now proceeds to give another reason, and, perhaps, the strongest of all; namely, the alteration of the government from the old republican form to the absolute sway of a single ruler.

(*b*) The colonies, the provinces, and the nations that submitted to the Roman arms, had their patrons in the capital, whom they courted with assiduity. It was this mark of distinction that raised the ambitious citizen to the first honours in the state. To have a number of clients as well at home, as in the most impor-

tant colonies, was the unremitting desire, the study, and constant labour of all, who aimed at pre-eminence; insomuch that, in the time of the old republic, the men who wished to be distinguished patrons, impoverished, and often ruined their families, by their profusion and magnificence. They paid court to the common people, to the provinces, and states in alliance with Rome; and, in their turn, they received the homage of their clients. See *Annals*, b. iii. s. 55.

(c) We read in Quintilian, that oral testimony, and depositions signed by the witnesses, were both in use in his time. Written evidence, he observes, was easily combated; because the witness, who chose to speak in the presence of a few, who signed his attestation, might be guilty of a violation of truth with greater confidence; and besides, not being cited to speak, his being a volunteer in the cause was a circumstance against him, since it showed that he acted with ill-will to the opposite party. With regard to the witness who gives his testimony in open court, the advocate has more upon his hands: he must press him with questions, and in a set speech observe upon his evidence. He must also support his own witnesses, and therefore, must draw up two lines of battle. *Maximus patronis circa testimonia sudor est. Ea dicuntur aut per tabulas, aut a præsentibus. Simplicior contra tabulas pugna. Nam et minus obstitisse videtur pudor inter paucos signatores, et pro diffidentiâ premitur absentia. Tacitâ præterea quadam significatione refragatur his omnibus, quod nemo per tabulas dat testimonium, nisi sua voluntate; quo ipso non esse amicum ei se, contra quem dicit, fatetur. Cum præsentibus verò ingens dimicatio est: ideoque velut duplici contra eos, proque his, acie confligitur, actionum et interrogationum.* Quint. lib. v. cap. 7.

Section XXXVII.

(a) For an account of Mucianus, see section vii. note (c); also *the History*, b. ii. s. 5. Suetonius relates that Vespasian, having undertaken to restore three thousand brazen plates, which had perished in the conflagration of the capitol (see *the Hist. of*

Tacitus, b. iii. s. 71), ordered a diligent search to be made for copies, and thereby furnished the government with a collection of curious and ancient records, containing the decrees of the senate, acts of the commons, and treaties of alliance, almost from the building of the city. Suetonius, *Life of Vespasian*, s. 8. This, with the addition of speeches and letters composed by men of eminence, was, most probably, the collection published by Mucianus. We may be sure that it contained a fund of information, and curious materials for history: but the whole is unfortunately lost.

(*b*) The person intended in this place must not be confounded with Lucius Crassus, the orator celebrated by Cicero in the Dialogue De Oratore. What is here said, relates to Marcus Crassus, who was joined in the triumvirate with Pompey and Cæsar; a man famous for his riches, his avarice, and his misfortunes. While Cæsar was engaged in Gaul, and Pompey in Spain, Crassus invaded Asia, where, in a battle with the Parthians, his whole army was cut to pieces. He himself was in danger of being taken prisoner, but he fell by the sword of the enemy. His head was cut off, and carried to Orodes, the Parthian king, who ordered liquid gold to be infused into his mouth, that he, who thirsted for gold, might be glutted with it after his death. *Caput ejus recisum ad regem reportatum, ludibrio fuit, neque indigno. Aurum enim liquidum in rictum oris infusum est, ut cujus animus arserat auri cupiditate, ejus etiam mortuum et exangue corpus auro uteretur.* Florus, lib. iii cap. 11. Cicero says, that with slender talents, and a small stock of learning, he was able for some years, by his assiduity and interest, to maintain his rank in the list of eminent orators. *Mediocriter à doctrinâ instructus, angustius etiam a naturâ, labore et industriâ, et quod adhibebat ad obtinendas causas curam etiam, et gratiam, in principibus patronis aliquot annos fuit. In hujus oratione sermo Latinus erat, verba non abjecta, res compositæ diligentur; nullus flos tamen, neque lumen ullum: animi magna, vocis parva contentio; omnia ferè ut similiter, atque uno modo dicerentur.* Cicero, *De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 233.

(*c*) Lentulus succeeded more by his action than by real ability. With a quick and animated countenance, he was not a man of penetration; though fluent in speech, he had no command of words. His voice was sweet and melodious; his action graceful; and with those advantages he was able to conceal all other defects. *Cneius autem Lentulus multo majorem opinionem dicendi actione faciebat, quam quanta in eo facultas erat; qui cum esset nec peracutus (quamquam et ex facie et ex vultu videbatur) nec abundans verbis, et si fallebat in eo ipso; sed voce suavi et canorâ calebat in agendo, ut ea, quæ deerant, non desiderarentur.* Cicero, *De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 234. Metellus, Lucullus, and Curio are mentioned by Cicero in the same work. Curio was a senator of great spirit and popularity. He exerted himself with zeal and ardour for the legal constitution and the liberties of his country against the ambition of Julius Cæsar, but afterwards sold himself to that artful politician, and favoured his designs. The calamities that followed are by the best historians laid to his charge. Lucan says of him,

> Audax venali comitatur Curio linguâ;
> Vox quondam populi, libertatemque tueri
> Ausus, et armatos plebi miscere potentes. Lib. i. ver. 269.

And again,

> Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
> Gallorum captus spoliis, et Cæsaris auro.
>
> PHARSALIA, lib. iv. ver. 819.

(*d*) Demosthenes, when not more than seven years old, lost his father, and was left under the care of three guardians, who thought an orphan lawful prey, and did not scruple to embezzle his effects. In the mean time Demosthenes pursued a plan of education, without the aid or advice of his tutors. He became the scholar of Isocrates, and he was the hearer of Plato. Under those masters his progress was such, that at the age of seventeen he was able to conduct a suit against his guardians. The young orator succeeded so well in that prelude to his future fame, that the plunderers of the orphan's portion were condemned to refund

a large sum. It is said that Demosthenes, afterwards, released the whole or the greatest part.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) The rule for allowing a limited space of time for the hearing of causes, the extent of which could not be known, began, as Pliny the younger informs us, under the emperors, and was fully established for the reasons which he gives. The custom, he says, of allowing two water-glasses (*i. e. two hour glasses*) or only one, and sometimes half a one, prevailed, because the advocates grew tired before the business was explained, and the judges were ready to decide before they understood the question. Pliny, with some indignation, asks, Are we wiser than our ancestors? are the laws more just at present? Our ancestors allowed many hours, many days, and many adjournments in every cause; and for my part, as often as I sit in judgment, I allow as much time as the advocate requires; for, would it not be rashness to guess what space of time is necessary in a cause which has not been opened? But some unnecessary things may be said; and is it not better, that what is unnecessary should be spoken, than that what is necessary should be omitted? And who can tell what is necessary, till he has heard? Patience in a judge ought to be considered as one of the chief branches of his duty, as it certainly is of justice. See Plin. b. vi. ep. 2. In England, there is no danger of arbitrary rules, to gratify the impatience of the court, or to stifle justice. The province of juries, since the late declaratory act in the case of libels, is now better understood; and every judge is taught, that a cause is tried *before him*, not BY HIM. It is his to expound the law, and wait, with temper, for the verdict of those, whom the constitution has entrusted.

(*b*) Pompey's third consulship was A. U. C. 702; before Christ, 52. He was at first sole consul, and in six or seven months Metellus Scipio became his colleague.

(*c*) The centumviri, as mentioned s. vii. note (*c*), were a body

of men composed of three out of every tribe, for the decision of such matters as the prætors referred to their judgment. The nature of the several causes, that came before that judicature, may be seen in the first book DE ORATORE.

(*d*) The question in this cause before the centumviri was, whether Clusinius Figulus, the son of Urbinia, fled from his post in battle, and, being taken prisoner, remained in captivity during a length of time, till he made his escape into Italy; or as was contended by Asinius Pollio, whether the defendant did not serve under two masters, who practised physic, and being discharged by them, voluntarily sell himself as a slave? See Quintilian, lib. vii. cap. 2.

SECTION XXXIX.

(*a*) The advocates, at that time, wore a tight cloak, or mantle, like that which the Romans used on a journey. Cicero, in his oration for Milo, argues that he, who wore that inconvenient dress, was not likely to have formed a design against the life of any man. *Apparet uter esset insidiator; uter nihil cogitaret mali: cum alter veheretur in rheda, penulatus, una sederet uxor. Quid horum non impeditissimum? Vestitus? an vehiculum? an comes?* A travelling cloak could give neither grace nor dignity to an orator at the bar. The business was transacted in a kind of chat with the judges: what room for eloquence, and that commanding action, which springs from the emotions of the soul, and inflames every breast with kindred passions? The cold inanimate orator is described, by Quintilian, speaking with his hand under his robe; *manum intra pallium continens.*

SECTION XL.

(*a*) Maternus is now drawing to a conclusion, and, therefore, calls to mind the proposition with which he set out; viz. that the flame of oratory is kept alive by fresh materials, and always blazes forth in times of danger and public commotion. The unimpassioned style, which suited the *areopagus* of Athens, or the courts of Rome, where the advocate spoke by an hour-glass, does not

deserve the name of genuine eloquence. The orations of Cicero for Marcellus, Ligarius, and king Dejotarus, were spoken before Cæsar, when he was master of the Roman world. In those speeches, what have we to admire, except delicacy of sentiment and elegance of diction? How different from the *torrent, tempest and whirlwind of passion*, that roused, inflamed, and commanded the senate, and the people, against Catiline and Marc Antony!

(*b*) For the account of Cicero's death by Velleius Paterculus, see s. xvii. note (*e*). Juvenal ascribes the murder of the great Roman orator to the second Philippic against Antony.

> ——————— Ridenda poemata malo,
> Quam te conspicuæ divina Philippica famæ,
> Volveris a primâ quæ proxima.
>
> SAT. X. ver. 124.

> I rather would be Mævius, thrash for rhymes
> Like his; the scorn and scandal of the times,
> Than the *Philippic*, fatally divine,
> Which is inscrib'd the second, should be mine.
>
> DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

What Cicero says of Antonius, the celebrated orator, may be applied to himself: That head, which defended the commonwealth, was shown from that very rostrum, where the heads of so many Roman citizens had been saved by his eloquence. *In his ipsis rostris, in quibus ille rempublicam constantissime consul defenderat, positum caput illud fuit, a quo erant multorum civium capita servata.* Cicero *De Oratore*, lib. iii. s. 10.

SECTION XLII.

(*a*) The urbanity with which the Dialogue is conducted, and the perfect harmony with which the speakers take leave of each other, can not but leave a pleasing impression on the mind of every reader of taste. It has some resemblance to the conclusion of Cicero's Dialogue DE NATURA DEORUM. In both tracts, we have a specimen of the politeness with which the ancients managed a conversation on the most interesting subjects, and by the

graces of style brought the way of instructing by dialogue into fashion. A modern writer, whose poetical genius can not be too much admired, chooses to call it a *frippery way of writing*. He advises his countrymen to abandon it altogether; and this for a notable reason: because the Rev. Dr. Hurd (now Bishop of Worcester) has shown the true use of it. That the dialogues of that amiable writer have an intrinsic value, can not be denied: they contain a fund of reflection, they allure by the elegance of the style, and they bring us into company with men, whom we wish to hear, to know, and to admire. While we have such conversation-pieces, not to mention others of the same stamp, both ancient and modern, the public taste, it may be presumed, will not easily be tutored to reject a mode of composition, in which the pleasing and the useful are so happily blended. The present Dialogue, it is true, can not be proved, beyond a controversy, to be the work of Tacitus; but it is also true, that it can not, with equal probability, be ascribed to any other writer. It has been retained in almost every edition of Tacitus; and, for that reason, claims a place in a translation which professes to give all the works of so fine a writer.

CONCLUSION.

THE Author of these volumes has now gone through the difficult task of translating Tacitus, with the superadded labour of supplements to give continuity to the narrative, and notes to illustrate such passages as seemed to want explanation; but he can not lay down his pen, without taking the liberty of addressing a few words to the reader. As what he has to offer, relates chiefly to himself, it shall be very short. He has dedicated many years of his life to this undertaking; and though, during the whole time, he had the pleasure and the honour of being acquainted with many gentlemen of taste and learning, he had no opportunity of appealing to their opinion, or guiding himself by their advice. Amidst the hurry of life, and the various pursuits, in which all are engaged, how could he hope, that any one would be at leisure to attend to the doubts, the difficulties, and minute niceties which must inevitably occur in a writer of so peculiar a genius as Tacitus? He was unwilling to be a troublesome visiter, and, by consequence, has been obliged, throughout the whole of his work, to trust to his own judgment, such as it is. He spared no pains to do all the justice in his power to one of the greatest writers of antiquity; but whether he has toiled with fruitless industry, or has in any degree succeeded, must be left to the judgment of others.

He is now at the end of his labours, and ready, after the example of Montesquieu, to cry out with the voyager in Virgil, *Italiam! Italiam!* But whether he is to land on a peaceful shore; whether the men, who delight in a wreck, are to rush upon him with hostile pens, which in their hands are pitchforks; whether his cargo is to be condemned, and he himself to be wounded, maimed, and lacerated, a little time will discover. Such critics will act as their nature prompts them. Should they *cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of war*, it may be said,

Quod genus hoc hominum, quæve hunc tam barbara morem
Permittit Patria? Hospitio prohibemur arenæ;
Bella cient, primâque vetant consistere terrâ.

This, they may say, is anticipating complaint; but in the worst that can happen, it is the only complaint this writer will ever make, and the only answer they will ever receive from his pen.

It is from a very different quarter that the translator of Tacitus waits for solid criticism. The men, as Pliny observes, who read with malignity, are not the only judges. *Neque enim soli judicant, qui malignè legunt.* The scholar will see defects, but he will pronounce with temper: he will know the difficulty, and, in some cases, perhaps the impossibility, of giving in our language the sentiments of Tacitus with the precision and energy of the original; and, upon the whole, he will acknowledge that an attempt to make a considerable addition to English literature, carries with it a plea of some merit. While the French could boast of having many valuable translations of Tacitus, and their most eminent authors were still exerting themselves, with emulation, to improve upon their predecessors, the present writer saw, with regret, that this country had not so much as one translation, which could be read, without disgust, by any person acquainted with the idiom and structure of our language. To supply the deficiency has been the ambition of the translator. He persevered with ardour; but, his work being finished, ardour subsides, and doubt and anxiety take their turn. Whatever the event may be, the conscious pleasure of having employed his time in a fair endeavour will remain with him. For the rest, he submits his labours to the public; and, at that tribunal, neither flushed with hope, nor depressed by fear, he is prepared, with due acquiescence, to receive a decision, which, from his own experience on former occasions, he has reason to persuade himself will be founded in truth and candour.

GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE,

OR,

INDEX TO THE NAMES OF PLACES, &c.

GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE:

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INDEX OF THE NAMES OF PLACES, RIVERS, &c.

MENTIONED IN THESE VOLUMES.

A.

ACHAIA, often taken for part of Peloponnesus, but in Tacitus generally for all Greece.

ACTIUM, a promontory of Epirus, now called the *Cape of Tigolo*, famous for the victory of Augustus over M. Antony.

ADDUA, a river rising in the country of the *Grisons*, and in its course separating Milan from the territory of the Venetians, till it falls into the Po, about six miles to the west of Cremona. It is now called the *Adda*.

ADIABENE, a district of Assyria, so called from the river Adiaba; *Adiabeni*, the people.

ADRANA, now the *Eder*; a river that flows near *Waldeck*, in the landgravate of *Hesse*, and discharges itself into the *Weser*.

ADRIATIC, now the gulf of Venice.

ADRUMETUM, a Phœnician colony in Africa, about seventeen miles from Leptis Minor.

ÆDUI, a people of Ancient Gaul, near what is now called *Autun*, in Lower Burgundy.

ÆGEÆ, a maritime town of Cilicia; now *Aias Kala*.

ÆGEAN SEA, a part of the Mediterranean which lies between Greece and Asia Minor; now the *Archipelago*.

ÆGIUM, a city of Greece, in the Peloponnesus; now the *Morea*.

ÆNUS, a river rising in the country of the *Grisons*, and running thence into the Danube.

ÆQUI, a people of Ancient Latium.

AFRICA generally means in Tacitus that part, which was made a proconsular province, of which Carthage was the capital, now the territory of *Tunis*.

AGRIPPINENSIS COLONIA, so called from Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, mother of Nero, and afterwards wife of the emperor Claudius. This place is now called *Cologne*, situate on the Rhine.

ALBA, a town of Latium, in Italy, the residence of the Alban kings, destroyed by Tullus Hostilius.

ALBANIA, a country of Asia, bounded on the west by Iberia, on the east by the Caspian Sea, on the south by Armenia, and on the north by Mount Caucasus

ALBINGANUM; now *Albinga*, to the west of the territory of Genoa, at the mouth of the river *Cente*.

ALBIS, now the *Elbe*; a river that rises in the confines of *Silesia*, and, after a wide circuit, falls into the German sea below *Hamburgh*.

ALBIUM INTEMELIUM; now *Vintimiglia*, south-west of the territory of Genoa, with a port on the Mediterranean, between *Monaco* and *S. Remo*.

ALESIA, a town in Celtic Gaul, situate on a hill. It was besieged by Julius Cæsar. See his Commentaries, lib. vii. s. 77.

ALEXANDRIA, a principal city of Egypt, built by Alexander the Great, on the Mediterranean; famous for the library begun by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and consisting at least of seven hundred thousand volumes, till in Cæsar's expedition it was destroyed by fire.

ALISO, a fort built by Drusus, the father of Germanicus, in the part of Germany now called Westphalia, near the city of *Paderborn*.

ALLIA, a river of Italy, running into the Tiber, about forty miles from Rome; famous for the slaughter of the Romans by the Gauls, under Brennus.

ALLOBROGES, a people of Narbon Gaul, situate between the Rhodanus and the Lacus Lemanus.

ALPS, a range of high mountains separating Italy from Gaul and Germany. They are distinguished into different parts, under several names, such as, the *Maritime Alps*, near Genoa; the *Cottian Alps*, separating Dauphiné from Piedmont; the *Graian Alps*, beginning from Mount Cenis, where the *Cottian* terminate, and extending to Great St. Bernard; the *Pennine Alps*, extending from west to east to the *Rhetian Alps*, the *Alpes Noricæ*, and the *Pannonian Alps*, as far as the springs of the *Kulpe*. Their height in some places is almost incredible. They are called *Alps*, from *Alpen*, a Celtic term for high mountains.

ALTINUM, a town in the territory of Venice, on the Adriatic, now in ruins, except a tower, still retaining the name of *Altino*.

AMANUS, a mountain of Syria, separating it from Cilicia; now called *Montagna Neros* by the inhabitants; that is, the watery mountain, abounding in springs and rivulets.

AMATHUS, a maritime town of Cyprus, consecrated to Venus, with an ancient temple of Adonis and Venus: it is now called *Limisso*.

AMAZONIA, a country near the river Thermodon, in Pontus.

AMISIA, now the *Ems*; a river of Germany that falls into the German sea, near Embden.

AMORGOS, an island in the Ægean sea, now Amorgo.

AMYDIS, a town near the gulph of that name, on the coast of Latium in Italy.

ANAGNIA, a town of ancient Latium; now *Anagni*, thirty-six miles to the east of Rome.

ANCONA, a port town in Italy, situate on the gulf of Venice.

ANDECAVI, now *Anjou*.

ANEMURIUM, a promontory of Cilicia, with a maritime town of the same name near it. See Pomponius Mela.

ANGRIVARIANS, a German people, situate on the west side of the Weser, near *Osnaburg* and *Minden*.

ANSIBARII, a people of Germany.

ANTIOCH, or ANTIOCHIA, the capital of Syria, called *Epi-*

daphne, to distinguish it from other cities of the name of Antioch. It is now called *Antakia*.

ANTIPOLIS, now *Antibes*, on the coast of Provence, about three leagues to the west of *Nice*.

ANTIUM, a city of the ancient Volsci, situate on the Tuscan Sea; the birth-place of Nero. Two Fortunes were worshipped there, which Suetonius calls *Fortunæ Antiates*, and Martial, *Sorores Antii*. Horace's Ode to Fortune is well known—

O Diva gratum quæ regis Antium.

The place is now called *Capo d'Anzo*.

ANTONA, now the *Avon*. See Camden.

AORSI, a people inhabiting near the Palus Mæotis; now the eastern part of Tartary, between the *Neiper* and the *Don*.

APAMEA, a city of Phrygia, near the banks of the Mæander; now *Aphion-Kara-Hisar*.

APENNINUS, now the *Apennine*, a ridge of mountains running through the middle of Italy, extremely high, yet short of the *Alps*. Its name is Celtic, signifying a high mountain.

APHRODISUM, a town of *Caria* in Thrace, on the *Euxine*.

APOLLONIDIA, a city of Lydia.

APULIA, a territory of Italy, along the gulf of Venice; now *Capitanate Otranto*, &c.

AQUILEIA, a large city of the Veneti, and formerly a Roman colony, near the river *Natiso*, which runs into the gulf of Venice.

AQUINUM, a town of the Ancient Latins; now *Aquino*, but almost in ruins.

AQUITANIA, a division of Ancient Gaul, bounded by the *Garumna* (now *Garonne*), by the Pyrenees, and the ocean.

ARABIA, an extensive country of Asia, reaching from Egypt to Chaldea. It is divided into three parts, *Arabia Petræa*, *Deserta* and *Felix*.

ARAR, or ARARIS, a river of Gaul; now the *Saone*.

ARAXES, a river of Mesopotamia, which runs from north to south, and falls into the Euphrates.

ARBELA, a city of Assyria, famous for the battle between Alexander and Darius.

ARCADIA, an inland district in the heart of Peloponnesus; mountainous, and only fit for pasture; therefore celebrated by bucolic or pastoral poets.

ARDEN, *Arduenna*, in Tacitus; the forest of Arden.

ARENACUM, an ancient town in the island of Batavia; now *Arnheim*, in Guelderland.

ARICIA, a town of Latium in Italy, at the foot of Mons Albanus, about a hundred and sixty stadia from Rome. The grove, called *Aricinum Nemus*, was in the vicinity.

ARII, a people of Asia.

ARIMINUM, a town of Umbria, at the mouth of the river Ariminus, on the gulf of Venice.

ARMENIA, a kingdom of Asia, having Albania and Iberia to the north, and Mount Taurus and Mesopotamia to the south: divided into the GREATER, which extends eastward to the Caspian Sea; and the LESSER, to the west of the GREATER, and separated from it by the Euphrates; now called *Turcomania*.

ARNUS, a river of Tuscany, which visits Florence in its course, and falls into the sea near Pisa.

ARSANIAS, a river of the GREATER ARMENIA, running between Tigranocerta and Artaxata, and falling into the Euphrates.

ARTAXATA, the capital of Armenia, situate on the river Araxes.

ARVERNI, a people of Ancient Gaul, inhabiting near the Loire; their chief city *Avernum*, now *Clermont*, the capital of *Auvergne*.

ASCALON, an ancient city of the Philistines, situate on the Mediterranean; now *Scalona*.

ASCIBURGIUM, a citadel on the Rhine, where the Romans stationed a camp and a garrison.

ATESTE, a town in the territory of Venice, situate to the south of Patavium.

ATRIA, a town of the Veneti, on the river Tartarus, between the Padus and the Athesis, now the *Adige*.

AUGUSTA TAURINORUM, a town of the Taurini, at the foot of the Alps; now *Turin*, the capital of *Piedmont*.

AUGUSTODUNUM, the capital of the Ædui; now *Autun*, in the dutchy of Burgundy. It took its name from Augustus Cæsar.

AURIA, an ancient town of Spain; now *Orense*, in Galicia.

AUZEA, a strong castle in Mauritania.

AVENTICUM, the capital of the Helvetii; by the Germans called *Wiflisburg*, by the French *Avenches*.

B.

BACTRIANI, a people inhabiting a part of Asia, to the south of the river *Oxus*, which runs from east to west, into the Caspian Sea.

BAIÆ, a village of Campania, between the promontory of Misenum and Puteoli (now *Pozzuolo*), nine miles to the west of Naples.

BALEARES, a cluster of islands in the Mediterranean, of which *Majorca* and *Minorca* are the chief.

BASTARNI, a people of Germany, who led a wandering life in the vast regions between the Vistula and the Pontic Sea.

BATAVIA, an island formed by two branches of the Rhine, and the German Sea. See Annals, book ii. s. 6; and Manners of the Germans, s. XXIX. note (*a*).

BATAVODURUM, a town in the island of Batavia; now, as some of the commentators say, *Wyk-te-Duurstede*.

BEBRYACUM, or BEDRYACUM, a village situate between Verona and Cremona; famous for two successive defeats; that of Otho, and soon after that of Vitellius.

BELGIC GAUL, the country between the Seine and the Marne to the west, the Rhine to the east, and the German sea to the north.

BERYTUS, now *Barut*, in Phœnicia.

BETASII, the people inhabiting the country now called *Brabant*.

BITHYNIA, a proconsular province of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by the Euxine and the Propontic, adjoining to Troas, over-against Thrace; now *Becsangial*.

BOETICA, one of the provinces into which Augustus Cæsar divided the Farther Spain.

BOII, a people of Celtic Gaul, in the country now called *Bour-*

bonnois. There was also a nation of the same name in Germany. See Manners of the Germans, s. 28.

BONNA, now *Bonn*, in the electorate of *Cologne*.

BONONIA, called by Tacitus *Bononiensis*; now *Bologna*, capital of the *Bolognese* in Italy.

BOSPHORANI, a people bordering on the Euxine; the *Tartars*.

BOSPHORUS, two straits of the sea so called; one *Bosphorus Thracius*, now *the straits of Constantinople*; the other *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, now *the straits of Caffa*.

BOVILLÆ, a town of Latium, near Mount Albanus; about ten miles from Rome, on the Appian Road.

BRIGANTES, the ancient inhabitants of *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Durham*, *Westmoreland*, *and Cumberland*.

BRIXELLUM, the town where Otho dispatched himself after the defeat at *Bedriacum*; now *Bresello*, in the territory of *Reggio*.

BRIXIA, a town of Italy, on this side of the Po; now *Brescia*.

BRUCTERIANS, a people of Germany, situate in Westphalia. See the Manners of the Germans, s. XXXIII. note (*a*).

BRUNDUSIUM, a town of Calabria, with an excellent harbour, at the entrance of the Adriatic, affording to the Romans a commodious passage to Greece. The Via Appia ended at this town. Now *Brindisi*, in the territory of *Otranto*, in the kingdom of Naples.

BYZANTIUM, a city of Thrace, on the narrow strait that separates Europe from Asia; now *Constantinople*. See Annals, xii. s. 63.

C.

CÆLALETÆ, a people of Thrace, near Mount Hæmus.

CÆRACATES, probably the diocese of *Mayence*.

CÆSAREA, a maritime town in Palestine; now *Kaisarié*.

CÆSIAN FOREST, now the Forest of *Heserwaldt*, in the duchy of Cleves. It is supposed to be a part of the Hercynian Forest.

CALABRIA, a peninsula of Italy, between Tarentum and Brundusium; now the territory of Otranto, in the kingdom of Naples.

CAMELODUNUM, said by some to be *Malden* in Essex, but by

Camden, and others, *Colchester*. It was made a Roman colony under the emperor Claudius; a place of pleasure rather than of strength, adorned with splendid works; a theatre and a temple of Claudius.

CAMERIUM, a city in the territory of the Sabines; now destroyed.

CAMPANIA, a territory of Italy, bounded on the west by the Tuscan Sea. The most fertile and delightful part of Italy; now called *Terra di Lavoro*.

CANGI, the inhabitants of Cheshire, and part of Lancashire.

CANINEFATES, a people of the Lower Germany, *from the same* origin as the Batavians; and inhabitants of the west part of the isle of Batavia.

CANOPUS, a city of the Lower Egypt, situate on a branch of the Nile called by the same name.

CAPPADOCIA, a large country in Asia Minor, between Cilicia and the Euxine sea. Being made a Roman province, the inhabitants had an offer made them of a free and independent government; but their answer was, Liberty might suit the Romans, but the Cappadocians would neither receive liberty, nor endure it.

CAPREA, an island on the coast of Campania, about four miles in length from east to west, and about one in breadth. It stands opposite to the promontory of *Surrentum*, and has the bay of Naples in view. It was the residence of Tiberius for several years.

CAPUA, now *Capoa* a city in the kingdom of Naples; the seat of pleasure, and the ruin of Hannibal.

CARMEL, a mountain in Galilee, on the Mediterranean.

CARSULÆ, a town of Umbria, about twenty miles from Mevania; now in ruins.

CARTHAGO, once the most famous city of Africa, and the rival of Rome; supposed by some to have been built by queen Dido, seventy years after the foundation of Rome; but Justin will have it before Rome. It was the capital of what is now the kingdom of *Tunis*.

CARTHAGO NOVA, a town of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, or the Hither Spain; now *Carthagena*.

CASPIAN SEA, a vast lake between Persia, Great Tartary, Muscovy and Georgia, said to be six hundred miles long, and near as broad.

CASSIOPE, a town in the island of Corcyra (now *Corfou*), called at present *St. Maria di Cassopo.*

CATTI, a people of Germany, who inhabited part of the country now called *Hesse*, from the mountains of *Hartz*, to the Weser and the Rhine.

CAUCI. See CHAUCI.

CELENDRIS, a place on the coast of Cilicia, near the confines of Pamphylia.

CENCHRIÆ, a port of Corinth; situate abouth ten miles towards the east; now *Kenkiri.*

CENCHRIS, a river running through the Ortygian Grove.

CERBINA, an island in the Mediterranean, to the north of the Syrtis Minor in Africa; now called *Kerkeni.*

CHALCEDON, a city of Bithynia, situate at the mouth of the Euxine, over-against Byzantium. It was called the *City of the Blind.* See Annals, xii. s. 63.

CHAUCI, a people of Germany, inhabiting what we now call *East Friesland*, *Bremen*, and *Lunenburg*. See Manners of the Germans, s. 35.

CHERUSCANS, a great and warlike people of Ancient Germany, to the north of the *Catti*, between the *Elbe* and the *Weser.*

CIBYRA, formerly a town of Phrygia, near the banks of the Mæander, but now destroyed.

CILICIA, an extensive country in the Hither Asia, bounded by Mount Taurus to the north, by the Mediterranean to the south, by Syria to the east, and by Pamphylia to the west. It was one of the provinces reserved for the management of the emperor.

CINITHIANS, a people of Africa.

CIRRHA, a town of Phocis, near Delphi, sacred to Apollo.

CIRRHUS, a town of Syria, in the district of Commagene, and not far from Antioch.

CIRTA, formerly the capital of Numidia, and the residence of the king. It is now called *Constantina*, in the kingdom of Algiers.

Clitæ, a people of Cilicia, near Mount Taurus.

Clunia, a city in the Hither Spain.

Colchos, a country of Asia, on the east of the Euxine, famous for the fable of the Golden Fleece, the Argonautic Expedition, and the Fair Enchantress, Medea.

Colophon, a city of Ionia, in the Hither Asia. One of the places, that claimed the birth of Homer; now destroyed.

Commagene, a district of Syria, bounded on the east by the Euphrates, on the west by Amanus, and on the north by Mount Taurus.

Coos. See Cos.

Corcyra, an island in the Adriatic; now *Corfou*.

Corinthus, a city of Achaia, on the south part of the isthmus which joins Peloponnesus to the continent. From its situation between too seas, Horace says,

Bimarisve Corinthi mœnia.

The city was taken and burnt to the ground by Mummius, the Roman general, A. U. C. 608. It was afterwards restored to its ancient splendour, and made a Roman colony. It retains the name of *Corinth*.

Corma, a river in Asia, mentioned by Tacitus only.

Corsica, an island in the part of the Mediterranean called the Sea of Liguria, in length from north to south about an hundred and fifty miles, and about fifty where broadest. To the south it is separated from Sardinia by a narrow channel.

Cos, or Coos, one of the islands called the Cyclades, in the Ægean sea, famous for being the birth place of Apelles; now *Stan Co*.

Cosa, a promontory of Etruria; now *Monte Argentaro*, in Tuscany.

Cremera, a river of Tuscany, falling into the Tiber, a little to the north of Rome, rendered famous by the slaughter of the Fabii.

Cremona, a city of Italy, built A. U. C. 536, and afterwards, in the year 822, rased to the ground by the army of Vespasian,

in the war with Vitellius. It was soon rebuilt by the citizens, with the extortions of Vespasian. It is now a flourishing city in the duchy of Milan, and retains the name of Cremona.

Cumæ, a town of Campania, near Cape Misenum, famous for the cave of the Cumæan Sybil.

Cusus, a river in Hungary, that falls into the Danube.

Cyclades, a cluster of islands in the Ægean Sea, so called from *Cyclus*, the orb in which they lie. Their names and number are not ascertained. Strabo reckons sixteen.

Cyme, a maritime town of Æolia in Asia.

Cyprus, a noble island opposite to the coast of Syria, formerly sacred to Venus, whence she was called the Cyprian goddess.

Cyrene (now called *Curin*), the capital of Cyrenaica, a district of Africa, now the *Desert of Barca*. It stood about eleven miles from the sea, and had an excellent harbour.

Cythera, an island situated on the coast of Peloponnesus, formerly sacred to Venus, and thence her name of *Cytherea*. The island is now called *Cerigo*.

Cynthus, one of the islands called the Cyclades, in the Ægean Sea.

Cyzicus, a city of Mysia, in the hither Asia, rendered famous by the long siege of Mithridates, which at last was raised by Lucullus.

D.

Dacia, a country extending between the Danube and the Carpathian mountains to the mouth of the Danube, and to the Euxine, comprising a part of Upper Hungary, Transylvania, and Moldavia. The inhabitants of the west, towards Germany, were called *Daci*; those to the east towards the Euxine were called *Getæ*. The whole country was reduced by Trajan to a Roman province.

Dahæ, a people of Scythia, to the south of the Caspian with the Massagetæ on the east. Virgil calls them *indomitique Dahæ*.

Dalmatia, an extensive country bordering on Macedonia and Mœsia, and having the Adriatic to the south.

DANDARIDÆ, a people bordering on the Euxine. Brotier says that some vestiges of the nation, and its name, still exist at a place called *Dandars*.

DANUBE, the largest river in Europe. It rises in Suabia, and after visiting Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, and taking thence a prodigious circuit, falls at last into the black or Euxine sea. See Manners of the Germans, s. i. note (*g*).

DELOS, the central island of the Cyclades, famous in mythology for the birth of Apollo and Diana.

DELPHI, a famous inland town of Phocis in Greece, with a temple and oracle of Apollo, situate near the foot of Mount Parnassus.

DENTHELIATE LANDS, a portion of the Peloponnesus that lay between Laconia and Messenia; often disputed by those states.

DERMONA, a river of Gallia Transpadana; it runs into the Ollius (now *Oglio*), and through that channel into the Po.

DIVODURUM, a town in Gallia Belgica, situate on the Moselle, on the spot where *Metz* now stands.

DONUSA, or DONYSA, an island in the Ægean Sea, not far from *Naxos*. Virgil has, *Bacchatamque jugis Naxon, viridemque Donysam.*

DYRRACHIUM, a town on the coast of Illyricum. Its port answered to that of Brundusium, affording a convenient passage to Italy.

E.

ECBATANA, the capital of Media; now *Hamedan*.

EDESSA, a town of Mesopotamia; now *Orrhoa*, or *Orfa*.

ELEPHANTINE, an island in the Nile, not far from Syene; at which last place stood the most advanced Roman garrison: *Notitia Imperii.*

ELEUSIS, a district of Attica near the sea-coast, sacred to Ceres, where the Eleusinian mysteries were performed; now in ruins.

ELYMÆI, a people bordering on the gulf of Persia.

EMERITA, a city of Spain; now *Merida*, in the province of *Estramadoura*.

EPHESUS, an ancient and celebrated city of Ionia, in Asia Minor; now *Efeso*. It was the birth-place of Heraclitus, the weeping philosopher.

EPIDAPHNE, a town in Syria, not far from Antioch.

EPOREDIA, a town at the foot of the Alps, afterwards a Roman colony; now *Jurea* or *Jura*, a city of Piedmont.

ERINDE, a river of Asia, mentioned by Tacitus only.

ERITHRÆ, a maritime town of Ionia, in Asia Minor.

ETRURIA, a district of Italy, extending from the boundary of Liguria to the Tiber; now *Tuscany*.

EUBŒA, an island near the coast of *Attica*; now *Negropont*.

EUPHRATES, a river of Asia, universally allowed to take its rise in Armenia Major. It divides into two branches, one running through Babylon, and the other through Seleucia. It bounds Mesopotamia on the west.

EUXINE, or PONTUS EUXINUS; now the Black Sea.

F.

FERENTINUM, a town of Latium, in Italy; now *Ferentino*, in the Campania of Rome.

FERENTUM, a town of Etruria; now *Ferenti*.

FEROMA, a town in Etruria.

FIDENÆ, a small town in the territory of the Sabines, about six miles to the north of Rome. The place where the ruins of Fidenæ are seen, is now called *Castello Giubileo*.

FLAMINIAN WAY, made by Flamminius A. U. C. 533, from Rome to *Ariminus*, a town of Umbria, or Romana, at the mouth of the river Ariminus, on the gulf of Venice. It is now called *Rimini*.

FLEVIUS, a branch of the Rhine, that emptied itself into the Lakes, which have been long since absorbed by the *Zuyderzee*. A castle, called *Flevum Castellum*, was built there by Drusus, the father of Germanicus.

FORMIÆ, a maritime town of Italy, to the south-east of *Cajeta*. The ruins of the place are still visible.

FOROJULIUM. See FORUM JULIUM.

FORUM ALLIENI, now *Ferrare*, on the Po.

FORUM JULIUM, a Roman colony in Gaul, founded by Julius Cæsar, and completed by Augustus, with an harbour at the mouth of the river *Argens*, capable of receiving a large fleet. The ruins of two moles at the entrance of the harbour are still to be seen. See Life of Agricola, s. iv. note (*a*). The place is now called *Frejus*.

FRISII, the ancient inhabitants of *Friesland*. See Manners of the Germans.

FUNDANI MONTES, now *Fondi*, a city of Naples, on the confines of the Pope's dominions.

G.

GABII, a town of Latium, between Rome and Preneste. A particular manner of tucking up the gown, adopted by the Roman consuls when they declared war or attended a sacrifice, was called *Cinctus Gabinus*. The place now extinct.

GÆTULI, a people of Africa, bordering on Mauritania.

GALATIA, or GALLOGRÆCIA, a country of Asia Minor, lying between *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Paphlagonia*; now called *Chiangare*.

GALILÆA, the northern part of Canaan, or Palestine, bounded on the north by *Phœnicia*, on the south by *Samaria*, on the east by the *Jordan*, and on the west by the *Mediterranean*.

GALLIA, the country of ancient Gaul, now *France*. It was divided by the Romans into *Gallia Cisalpina*, viz. Gaul on the Italian side of the Alps, with the *Rubicon* for its boundary to the south. It was also called *Gallia Togata*, from the use made by the inhabitants of the Roman *Toga*. It was likewise called *Gallia Transpodana*, or *Cispadana*, with respect to Rome. The second great division of Gaul was *Gallia Transalpina*, or *Ulterior*, being, with respect to Rome, on the other side of the Alps. It was also called *Gallia Comata*, from the people wearing their hair long, which the Romans wore short. The southern part was GALLIA NARBONENSIS, *Narbon Gaul*, called likewise *Braccata*, from the use of *braccæ*, or breeches, which were no part of the Roman

dress; now *Languedoc*, *Dauphiny*, and *Provence*. For the other divisions of Gaul on this side of the Alps, into *Gallia Belgica*, *Celtica*, *Aquitanica* further subdivided by Augustus, see the Manners of the Germans, s. i. note (*a*).

GARAMENTES, a people in the interior part of Africa, extending over a vast tract of country at present little known.

GARIZIM, a mountain of Samaria, famous for a temple built on it by permission of Alexander the Great.

GELDUBA, not far from Novesium (now *Nuys*, in the electorate of Cologne) on the west side of the Rhine.

GEMONIÆ, a place at Rome, into which were thrown the bodies of malefactors.

GERMANIA, ancient Germany, bounded on the east by the Vistula (the *Weissel*), on the north by the Ocean, on the west by the Rhine, and on the south by the Danube. A great part of Gaul, along the west side of the Rhine, was also called Germany by Augustus Cæsar, *Germania Cisrhenana*, and by him distinguished into *Upper* and *Lower Germany*.

GOTHONES, a people of ancient Germany, who inhabited part of Poland, and bordered on the Vistula.

GRAIAN ALPS, Graiæ Alpes, supposed to be called from the Greeks who settled there. See ALPS.

GRINNES, a town of the Batavi, on the right side of the Vahalis (now the *Waal*, in the territory of Utrecht.

GUGERNI, a people originally from Germany, inhabiting part of the duchy of Cleves and Gueldre, between the Rhine and the Meuse.

GYARUS, one of the islands called the *Cyclades*, rendered famous by being allotted for the banishment of Roman citizens. Juvenal says, *Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris, et carcere dignum, si vis esse aliquis.*

H.

HÆMUS, MOUNT, a ridge of mountains running from Illyricum towards the Euxine Sea; now *Mont Argentaro*.

HÆMONADENSIANS, a people bordering on Cilicia.

HALICARNASSUS, the capital of Caria, in Asia Minor, famous for being the birth place of Herodotus and Dionysius, commonly called *Dionysius Halicarnassensis.*

HELVETII, a people in the neighbourhood of the Allobroges, situate on the south-west side of the Rhine, and separated from Gaul by the Rhodanus and Lacus Lemanus.

HENIOCHIANS, a people dwelling near the Euxine Sea.

HERCULANEUM, a town of Campania, near Mount Vesuvius, swallowed up by an earthquake. Several antiquities have been lately dug out of the ruins.

HERCYNIAN FOREST: in the time of Julius Cæsar, the breadth could not be traversed in less than nine days; and after travelling lengthways for sixty days, no man reached the extremity. Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. s. 29.

HERMUNDURI, a people of Germany, in part of what is now called Upper Saxony, bounded on the north by the river *Sala*, on the east by the *Elbe*, and on the south by the *Danube.*

HIERO-CÆSAREA, a city in Lydia, famous for a temple to the Persian Diana, supposed to have been built by Cyprus.

HISPALIS, a town of Bœtica in the Farther Spain; now *Seville* in *Andalusia.*

HISPANIA, Spain, otherwise called *Iberia*, from the river *Iberus.* It has the sea on every side, except that next to *Gaul*, from which it is separated by the *Pyrenees.* During the time of the republic, the whole country was divided into two provinces, *Ulterior*, and *Citerior*, the *Farther* and *Hither* Spain. Augustus divided the Farther Spain into two provinces, *Bætica* and *Lusitania.* The Hither Spain he called *Tarraconensis*, and then Spain was formed into three provinces; *Bætica* under the management of the senate; and the other two reserved for officers appointed by the prince.

HOSTILIA, a village on the Po; now *Ostiglia*, in the neighbourhood of Cremona.

HYPÆPA, a small city in *Lydia*, now rased to the ground.

HYRCANIA, a country of the Farther Asia, to the east of the Caspian Sea, with Media on the west, and Parthia on the south; famous for its tigers. There was a city of the same name in Lydia.

I.

IBERIA, an inland country of Asia, bounded by Mount Caucasus on the north, by Albania on the east, by Colchis and part of Pontus on the west, and by Armenia on the south. Spain was also called Iberia, from the river Iberus; now the *Ebro.*

IBERUS, a noble river of the Hither Spain; now the *Ebro.*

ICENI, a people of Britain; now *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk.*

ILIUM, another name for ancient Troy. A new city, nearer to the sea, was built after the famous siege of Troy, and made a Roman colony. But, as was said of the old city, *Etiam periére ruinæ.*

ILLYRICUM, the country between Pannonia to the north, and the Adriatic to the south. It is now comprised by *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia*, under the respective dominion of the Venetians and the Turks.

INSUBRIA, a country of Gallia Cisalpina; now the *Milanese.*

INTEMELIUM. See ALBIUM INTEMELIUM.

INTERAMNA, an ancient town of the Volsci in Latium, not far from the river Liris. It is now in ruins.

IÓNIAN SEA, the sea that washes the western coast of Greece, opposite to the gulf of Venice.

ISICHI, a people bordering on the Euxine, towards the east.

ISTRIA, an island in the gulf of Venice, still retaining its ancient name. There was also a town of the same name near the mouth of the Ister, on the Euxine Sea.

ITURÆA, a *Transjordan* district of Palestine, now *Bacar.*

J.

JAPHA, a strong place, both by nature and art, in the Lower Galilee, not far from *Jotapata;* now *Saphet.*

JAZYGES, a people of Sarmatia Europæa, situate on this side of the Palus Mæotis, near the territory of Maroboduus, the German king.

JUGANTES, said by Camden to be the same as the *Brigantes;* but Brotier thinks it probable that they were a distinct people.

L.

Lacus Lemanus, now the *Lake of Geneva.*

Langobardi, a people of Germany, between the *Elbe* and the *Oder*, in part of what is now called *Brandenburg.*

Lanuvium, a town of Latium, about sixteen miles from Rome; now *Civita Lavinia.*

Laodicea, a town of Phrygia, called, to distinguish it from other cities of the same name, *Laodicea ad Lycum.* Spon, in his account of his travels, says it is rased to the ground, except four theatres built with marble, finely polished, and in as good condition as if they were modern structures; now called *Ladik.*

Laodicea ad Mare, a considerable town on the coast of Syria, well built, with a commodious harbour.

Latium, the country of the Latini, so called from king Latinus; contained at first within narrow bounds, but greatly enlarged under the Alban kings and the Roman consuls, by the accession of the Æqui, Volsci, Hornici, &c.

Lechæum, the west port of Corinth, which the people used for their Italian trade, as they did *Cenchræ* for their eastern or Asiatic.

Leptis: there were in Africa two ancient cities of the name, *Leptis magna*, and *Leptis parva.* The first (now called *Lebeda*) was in the territory of Tripoli; the second, a town on the Mediterranean, not far from Carthage.

Lesbos, an island in the Ægean Sea, near the coast of Asia; the birth-place of Sappho: now called *Metelin.*

Leuci, a people of Gallia Belgica, to the north of the Lingones, between the Moselle and the Meuse.

Ligeris; now the *Loire.*

Liguria, a country of Italy, divided into the maritime, *Ligus Ora;* and the inland *Liguria;* both between the Apennine to the south, the Maritime Alps to the west, and the Po to the north. It contained what is now called *Ferrara*, and the *territories of Genoa.*

Lingones, a people of Gallia Belgica, inhabiting the country about *Langres* and *Dijon.*

Longobardi, or Langobordi, a people of Germany, between the Elbe and the Oder. See Manners of the Germans, s. xl. note (*a*).

LUCANIA, a country of Ancient Italy; now called the *Basilicate*.

LUGDUNUM, a city of ancient Gaul; now *Lyons*.

LUGDUNUM BATAVORUM, a town of the Batavi; now *Leyden* in Holland. There was another town of the name in Gallia Celtica, at the confluence of the Arar (the *Saone*) and the Rhodanus (the *Rhone*). The place is now called Lyons.

LUPPIA, a river of Westphalia; now the *Lippe*.

LUSITANIA, now the kingdom of *Portugal*, on the west of Spain, formerly a part of it.

LYBIA, the name given by the Greeks to all Africa; but properly speaking, it was an interior part of Africa.

LYCIA, a country in Asia Minor, bounded by Pamphylia, Phrygia, and the Mediterranean.

LYDIA, an inland country of Asia Minor, formerly governed by Crœsus; now *Carasia*.

LYGII, an ancient people of Germany, who inhabited the country now called *Silesia*, and also part of *Poland*.

M.

MACEDONIA, a large country, rendered famous by Philip of Macedon, and his son Alexander; now a province of the Turkish empire, bounded by Servia and Bulgaria to the north, by Greece to the south, by Thrace and the Archipelago to the east, and by Epirus to the west.

MÆOTIS PALUS, a lake of Sarmatia Europæa, still known by the same name, and reaching from Crim Tartary to the mouth of the *Tanais* (the *Don*).

MÆSIA, a district of the ancient Illyricum, bordering on Pannonia, containing what is now called *Bulgaria*, and part of *Servia*.

MAGNESIA: there were anciently three cities of the name; one in Ionia, on the Mæander, which, it is said, was given to Themistocles by Artaxerxes, with these words, *to furnish his table with bread*; it is now called *Guzel-Hissard*, in Asiatic Turkey; the second was at the foot of Mount Sipylus, in Lydia; but has been destroyed by earthquakes: the third, Magnesia, was a maritime town of Thessaly, on the Ægean Sea.

MAGONTIACUM, a town of Gallia; now *Mentz*, situate at the confluence of the Rhine and the Maine.

MARCODURUM, a village of Gallia Belgica; now *Duren* on the *Roer*.

MARCOMANIANS, a people of Germany, between the Rhine, the Danube, and the Neckar. They removed to the country of the Boii, and having expelled the inhabitants, occupied the country now called *Bohemia*. See Manners of the Germans, s. xlii.

MARDI, a people of the Farther Asia, near the Caspian Sea.

MARITIME ALPS. See ALPS.

MARSACI, a people in the north of Batavia, inhabiting the sea-coast.

MARSI, a people of Italy, who dwelt round the Lacus Fucinus. Another people called Marsi, in Germany to the south of the Frisii, in the country now called *Paderborne* and *Munster*.

MASSILLIA, a town of Gallia Narbonensis, formerly celebrated for polished manners and learning; now *Marseilles*, a port town of Provence.

MATTIACI, a branch of the Catti in Germany. Their capital town was—

MATTIUM, supposed now to be *Marpourg* in *Hesse*.

MAURITANIA, a large region of Africa, extending from east to west along the Mediterranean, divided by the emperor Claudius into *Cæsariensis*, the eastern part, and *Tingitana*, the western. It had Numidia to the east, and Getulia to the south; and was also bounded by the Atlantic ocean, the straits of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean to the north. The natives were called Mauri, and thence the name of *Mauritania*; now *Barbary*.

MEDIA, a country of the Farther Asia, bounded on the west by Armenia, on the east by Parthia, on the north by the Caspian Sea, on the south by Persia. *Ecbatana* was the capital.

MEDIOLANUM, now *Milan* in Italy.

MEDIOMATRICI, a people of Gallia Belgica; now the diocese of *Mentz*.

MELITENE, a city of Cappadocia.

MEMPHIS, a city of Egypt, famous for its pyramids.

MENAPII, a people of Belgia: now *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

MESOPOTAMIA, a large country in the middle of Asia; so called, because it lies, μέση ποταμῶν, between two rivers, the Euphrates on the west, and the Tigris on the east.

MESSENA, or MESSANA, an ancient and celebrated city of Sicily, on the strait between that island and Italy. It still retains the name of *Messina*.

MEVANIA, a town of Umbria, near the Clitumnus, a river that runs from east to west into the Tiber.

MILETUS, an ancient city of Ionia, in Asia Minor; now totally destroyed.

MILVIUS PONS, a bridge over the Tiber, at the distance of two miles from Rome, on the *Via Flamminia;* now called *Ponte-Molle*.

MINTURNÆ, a town on the confines of Campania, near the river Liris.

MISENUM, a promontory of Campania, with a good harbour, near the *Sinus Puteolanus*, or the bay of Naples, on the north side. It was the station for the Roman fleets. Now *Capo di Miseno*.

MITYLENE, the capital city of the isle of Lesbos, and now gives name to the whole island.

MONA, an island separated from the coast of the Ordovices by a narrow strait, the ancient seat of the Druids. Now the isle of *Anglesey*.

MONÆCI PORTUS, now *Monaco*, a port town in the territory of *Genoa*.

MORINI, a people of Belgia, inhabiting the diocese of *Tournay*, and the country about *St. Omer* and *Boulogne*.

MOSA, a large river of Belgic Gaul; it receives a branch of the Rhine, called *Vahalis*, and falls into the German Ocean below the Briel. It is now the *Maese*, or *Meuse*.

MOSELLA, a river which, running through Lorrain, falls into the Rhine at *Coblentz;* now called the *Moselle*.

MOSTENI, the common name of the people and their town on the river Hermus in Lydia.

MUSULANI, an independent savage people in Africa, on the confines of Carthage, Numidia, and Mauritania.

MUTINA, now *Modena*, a city of Lombardy, in Italy.

MYRINA, a town of *Æolis*, or *Æolia*, in the Hither Asia; now *Sanderlik*.

N.

NABALIA, the name of the channel made by Drusus from the Rhine to the river Sala; now the *Ysell*. See Annals, ii. s. 8.

NABATHÆI, a people between the Euphrates and the Red Sea; comprehending Arabia Petræa, and bounded by Palestine on the north.

NAR, a river which rises in Umbria, and, falling into the lake *Velinus*, rushes thence with a violent and loud cascade, and empties itself into the Tiber.

NARBON GAUL, the southern part of Gaul, bounded by the Pyrenees to the west, the Mediterranean to the south, and the Alps and the Rhine to the east.

NARNIA, a town of Umbria, on the River *Nar;* now *Narni* in the territory of the Pope.

NAUPORTUM, a town on a cognominal river in Pannonia.

NAVA, a river of Gallia Belgica, which runs north-east into the west side of the Rhine; now the *Nahe*.

NAVARIA, now *Novara*, a city of Milan.

NEMETES, a people originally of Germany, removed to the diocese of *Spire*, on the Rhine.

NICEPHORUS, a river of Asia that washes the walls of *Tigranocerta*, and runs into the *Tigris*; *D'Anville* says, now called *Khabour*.

NICOPOLIS: there were several towns of this name, viz in Egypt, Armenia, Bithynia, on the Euxine, &c. A town of the same name was built by Augustus, on the coast of Epirus, as a monument of his victory at Actium.

NINOS, the capital of *Assyria*; called also *Nineve*.

NISIBIS, a city of Mesopotamia, at this day called *Nesibin*.

NOLA, a city of Campania, on the north-east of Vesuvius. At

this place Augustus breathed his last: it retains its old name to this day.

NORICUM, a Roman province, bounded by the Danube on the north, by the *Alpes Noricæ* on the south, by Pannonia on the east, and Vindelicia on the west; now containing a great part of Austria, Tyrol, Bavaria, &c.

NOVESIUM, a town of the Ubii in Gallia Belgica; now *Nuys*, on the west side of the Rhine, in the electorate of *Cologne*.

NUCERIA, a city of Campania; now *Noccra*.

NUMIDIA, a celebrated kingdom of Africa, bordering on Mauritania, and bounded to the north by the Mediterranean; now *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, &c. the eastern part of the kingdom of *Algiers*. Syphax was king of one part, and Masinissa of the other.

O.

OCRICULUM, a town of Umbria, near the confluence of the Nar and the Tiber; now *Otricoli*, in the duchy of *Spoletto*.

OEENSES, a people of Africa, who occupied the country between the two Syrtes on the Mediterranean. Their city was called *Oea*, now *Tripoli*.

ODRYSÆ, a people situated in the western part of Thrace, now a province of European Turkey.

OPITERGIUM, now *Oderzo*, in the territory of Venice.

ORDOVICES, a people who inhabited what we now call *Flintshire*, *Denbighshire*, *Carnarvon*, and *Meriontethshire*, in North Wales.

OSTIA, formerly a town of note, at the mouth of the Tiber (on the south side), whence its name; at this day it lies in ruins.

P.

PADUS, anciently called *Eridanus* by the Greeks, famous for the fable of Phaeton; it receives several rivers from the Alps and the Apennine, and, running from west to east, discharges itself into the Adriatic. It is now called the Po.

PAGIDA, a river in Numidia; its modern name is not ascertained. D'Anville thinks it is now called *Fissato*, in the territory of *Tripoli*.

PALUS MÆOTIS; see MÆOTIS.

PAMPHYLIA, a country of the Hither Asia, bounded by Pisidia to the north, and by the Mediterranean to the south.

PANDA, a river of Asia, in the territory of the *Siraci;* not well known.

PANDATARIA, an island of the Tuscan Sea, in the Sinus Puteolanus (now *il Golfo di Napoli*), the place of banishment for illustrious exiles, viz. Julia, the daughter of Augustus, Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, Octavia, the the daughter of Claudius, and many others. It is now called *L'Isle Sainte-Marie*, or *Santa Maria.*

PANNONIA, an extensive country of Europe, bounded by Mœsia on the east, by Noricum on the west, Dalmatia on the south, and by the Danube to the north; containing part of *Austria* and *Hungary.*

PANNONIAN ALPS. See ALPES.

PAPHOS: there were two towns of the name, both on the west side of the island of Cyprus, and dedicated to Venus, who was hence the *Paphian* and the *Cyprian* goddess.

PARTHIA, a country of the Farther Asia, with Media on the west, Asia on the east, and Hyrcania on the north.

PATAVIUM, now *Padua*, in the territory of Venice.

PELIGNI, a people of Samaium, near Naples.

PELOPONNESUS, the large peninsula to the south of Greece, so called after *Pelops*, viz. *Pelopis Nesus.* It is joined to the rest of Greece by the Isthmus of Corinth, which lies between the Ægean and Ionian seas. It is now called the *Morea.*

PENNINÆ ALPES. See ALPS.

PERGAMOS, an ancient and famous city of *Mysia*, situate on the Caicus, which runs through it. It was the residence of Attalus and his successors. This place was famous for a royal library, formed, with emulation, to vie with that of Alexandria in Egypt. The kings of the latter, stung with paltry jealousy; prohibited the exportation of paper. Hence the invention of parchment, called *Pergamana charta.* Plutarch assures us, that the library at Pergamos contained two hundred thousand volumes. The whole collection was given by Marc Antony as a present to Cleopatra, and

thus the two libraries were consolidated into one. In about six or seven centuries afterwards, the volumes of science, by order of the Califf Omar, served for a fire to warm the baths of Alexandria; and thus perished *all the physic of the soul.* The town subsists at this day, and retains the name of *Pergamos.* See Spon's Travels, vol. i.

PERINTHUS, a town of Thrace, situate on the Propontis, now called *Heraclea.*

PERUSIA, formerly a principal city of Etruria, on the north side of the Tiber, with the famous *Lacus Trasimenus* to the east. It was besieged by Augustus, and reduced by famine. Lucan has, *Perusina fames.* It is now called *Perugia,* in the territory of the Pope.

PHARSALIA, a town in Thessaly, rendered famous by the last battle between Pompey and Julius Cæsar.

PHILADELPHIA: there were several ancient towns of this name. That which Tacitus mentions was in Lydia, built by Attalus Philadelphus; it is now called by the Turks, *Alak Scheyr.*

PHILIPPI, a city of Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace; built by Philip of Macedon, and famous for the battle fought on its plains between Augustus and the republican party. It is now in ruins.

PHILIPPOPOLIS, a city of Thrace, near the river *Hebrus.* It derived its name from Philip of Macedon, who enlarged it, and augmented the number of inhabitants.

PICENTIA, the capital of the *Picentini* on the Tuscan Sea, not far from Naples.

PICENUM, a territory of Italy, to the east of Umbria, and in some parts extending from the Apennine to the Adriatic It is now supposed to be the *March of Ancona.*

PIRÆUS, a celebrated port near Athens. It is much frequented at this day; its name, *Porto Lions.*

PISÆ, a town of Etruria, which gave name to the bay of Pisa, *Sinus Pisanus.*

PLACENTIA, a town in Italy, now called *Placenza,* in the duchy of Parma.

PLANASIA, a small island near the coast of Etruria, in the Tuscan Sea; now *Pianosa.*

Pompeii, a town of Campania, near Herculaneum. It was destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of Nero.

Pompeiopolis: there were anciently two cities of the name; one in Cilicia, another in Paphlagonia.

Pontia, an island in the Tuscan Sea; a place of relegation or banishment.

Pontus, an extensive country of Asia Minor, lying between Bithynia and Paphlagonia, and extending along the *Pontus Euxinus*, the Euxine or the Pontic Sea, from which it took its name. It had that sea to the east, the mouth of the Ister to the north, and mount Hæmus to the south. The wars between Mithridates, king of Pontus, and the Romans, are well known.

Præneste, a town of Latium to the south east of Rome, standing very high, and said to be a strong place. The town that succeeded it, stands low in a valley, and is called *Palestrina*.

Propontis, near the Hellespont and the Euxine; now the Sea of *Marmora*.

Puteoli, a town of Campania, so called from its number of wells; now *Pozzuolo*, nine miles to the west of Naples.

Pyramus, a river of Cilicia, rising in Mount Taurus, and running from east to west into the Sea of Cilicia.

Pyrgi, a town of Etruria, on the Tuscan Sea; now *St. Marinella*, about thirty-three miles distant from Rome.

Q.

Quadi, a people of Germany, situated to the south-east of Bohemia, on the banks of the Danube. See Manners of the Germans, s. xlii. note (*b*).

R.

Ravenna, an ancient city of Italy, near the coast of the Adriatic. A port was constructed at the mouth of the river Bedesis, and by Augustus made a station for the fleet that guarded the Adriatic. It is still called *Ravenna*.

Reate, a town of the Sabines in Latium, situate near the lake Velinus.

REGIUM. See RHEGIUM.

REMI, a people of Gaul, who inhabited the northern part of *Champagne*; now the city of *Rheims*.

RHACOTIS, the ancient name of Alexandria in Egypt.

RHÆTIA, a country bounded by the Rhine to the west, the Alps to the east, by Italy to the south, and *Vindelicia* to the north. Horace says, *Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus Drusum gerentem, et Vindelici.* Now the country of the *Grisons*.

RHEGIUM, an ancient city at the extremity of the Apennine, on the narrow strait between Italy and Sicily. It is now called *Reggio*, in the farther Calabria.

RHINUS, the river that rises in the Rhætian Alps, and divides Gaul from Germany. See Manners of the Germans, s. i. note (*f*); and s. xxix. note (*a*).

RHODANUS, a famous river of Gaul, rising on Mount Adula, not far from the head of the Rhine. After a considerable circuit it enters the *Lake of Geneva*, and in its course visits the city of Lyons, and from that place traverses a large tract of country, and falls into the Mediterranean. It is now called the *Rhone*.

RHODUS, a celebrated island in the Mediterranean, near the coast of Asia Minor, over-against *Caria*. The place of retreat for the discontented Romans Tiberius made that use of it.

ROXOLANI, a people on the north of the *Palus Mœotis*, situate along the Tanais, now the *Don*.

RIGODULUM, a town of the Treviri on the Moselle.

S.

SABRINA, now the *Severn*; a river that rises in *Montgomeryshire*, and running by *Shrewsbury*, *Worcester*, and *Glocester*, empties itself into the Bristol Channel, separating Wales from England.

SALA. It seems that two rivers of this name were intended by Tacitus. One, now called the *Issel*, which had a communication with the Rhine, by means of the canal made by Drusus, the father of Germanicus. The other SALA was a river in the country now called *Thuringia*, described by Tacitus as yielding

salt, which the inhabitants considered as the peculiar favour of heaven. The salt, however, was found in the salt springs near the river, which runs northward into the Albis, or Elbe.

Salamis, an island near the coast of Attica, opposite to *Eleusis*. There was also a town of the name of Salamis, on the eastern coast of Cyprus, built by Teucer, when driven by his father from his native island. Horace says, *Ambiguam tellure novâ Salamina futuram.*

Samaria, the capital of the country of that name in Palestine; the residence of the kings of Israel, and afterwards of Herod. *Samaritans*, the name of the people. Some magnificent ruins of the place are still remaining.

Sambulos, a mountain in the territory of the Parthians, with the river *Corma* near it. The mountain and the river are mentioned by Tacitus only.

Samnis, or Samnites, a people of ancient Italy, extending on both sides of the Apennine, famous in the Roman wars.

Samos, an island of Asia Minor, opposite to Ephesus; the birth-place of Pythagoras, who was thence called the *Samian Sage.*

Samothracia, an island of Thrace, in the Ægean Sea, opposite to the mouth of the Hebrus. There were mysteries of initiation celebrated in this island, held in as high repute as those of Eleusis; with a sacred and inviolable asylum.

Sardes, the capital of Lydia, at the foot of Mount Tmolus, from which the Pactolus ran down through the heart of the city. The inhabitants were called *Sardieni.*

Sardinia, an island on the Sea of Liguria, lying to the south of Corsica. It is said that an herb grew there, which, when eaten, produced a painful grin, called *Sardonius risus.* The island now belongs to the Duke of Saxony, with the title of king.

Sarmatia, called also *Scythia*, a northern country of vast extent, and divided into *Europæa* and *Asiatica;* the former beginning at the Vistula (its western boundary), and comprising Russia, part of Poland, Prussia, and Lithuania; and the latter bounded on the west by Sarmatia Europæa and the Tanais (the *Don*),

extending south as far as Mount Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, containing Tartary, Circassia, &c.

SAXA RUBRA, a place on the Flamminian road in Etruria, nine miles from Rome.

SCEPTEUCI, a people of Asiatic Sarmatia, between the Euxine and the Caspian Sea.

SCYTHIA, a large country, now properly Crim Tartary; in ancient geography divided into Scythia Asiatica, on either side of Mount Imaus: and Scythia Europæa, about the Euxine Sea and the Mæotic Lake. See also SARMATIA.

SEGESTUM, a town of Sicily, near Mount *Eryx*, famous for a temple sacred to the *Erycinian* Venus.

SELEUCIA, a city of Mesopotamia, situate at the confluence of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris;* now called *Bagdad.* We find in ancient geography several cities of this name.

SEMNONES, a people of Germany, called by Tacitus the most illustrious branch of the Suevi. They inhabited between the Albis and Viadrus.

SENENSIS COLONIA, now *Sienna*, in Tuscany.

SENONES, inhabitants of Celtic Gaul, situate on the *Sequana* (now the *Seine*); a people famous for their invasion of Italy, and taking and burning Rome A. U. C. 364.

SEQUANI, a people of Belgic Gaul, inhabiting the country now called *Franche Comté* or the *Upper Burgundy*, and deriving their name from the *Sequana* (now the *Seine*), which, rising near *Dijon* in Burgundy, runs through Paris, and, traversing Normandy, falls into the British Channel near *Havre de Grace.*

SERIPHOS, a small island in the Ægean Sea, one of the Cyclades; now *Serfo* or *Serfanto.*

SICAMBRI, an ancient people of Lower Germany, between the Maese and the Rhine, where *Guelderland* is. They were transplanted by Augustus to the west side of the Rhine. Horace says to that emperor, *Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri compositis venerantur armis.*

SILURES, a people of Britain, situate on the *Severn* and the Bristol Channel; now *South Wales*, comprising *Glamorgan, Radnorshire, Hereford*, and *Monmouth.* See Camden.

Simbruini Colles, the Simbruine Hill, so called from the *Simbruina Stagna*, or lakes formed by the river *Anio*, which gave the name of Sublaqueum to the neighbouring town.

Sinope, one of the most famous cities in the territory of Pontus. It was taken by Lucullus in the Mithridatic war, and afterwards received Roman colonies. It was the birth-place of Diogenes, the cynic, who was banished from his country. The place is still called *Sinope*, a port town of Asiatic Turkey, on the Euxine.

Sinuessa, a town of Latium, on the confines of Campania, beyond the river Liris (now called *Garigliano*). The place was much frequented for the salubrity of its waters.

Sipylus, a mountain of Lydia, near which Livy says the Romans obtained a complete victory over Antiochus.

Siraci, a people of Asia, between the *Euxine* and the *Caspian* Seas.

Smyrna, a city of Ionia in the Hither Asia, which laid a strong claim to the birth of Homer. The name of Smyrna still remains in a port town of Asiatic Turkey.

Sophene, a country between the Greater and the Lesser Armenia; now called *Zoph*.

Soza, a city of the *Dandaridæ*.

Spelunca, a small town near *Fondi*, on the coast of Naples.

Stæchades, five islands, now called the *Hieres*, on the coast of Provence.

Stratonice, a town of Caria in the Hither Asia, so called after *Stratonice*, the wife of Antiochus.

Suevi, a great and warlike people of Ancient Germany, who occupied a prodigious tract of country. See Manners of the Germans, s. xxxviii. and note (*a*).

Sunici, a people removed from Germany to Gallia Belgica. According to Cluverius, they inhabited the duchy of *Limburg*.

Swinden, a river that flows on the confines of the *Dahæ*. It is mentioned by Tacitus only. Brotier supposes it to be what is now called *Herirud*, or *La Riviere d'Herat*.

Syene, a town in the Higher Egypt, towards the borders of Ethiopia, situate on the Nile. It lies under the Tropic of Cancer, as is evident, says Pliny the elder, from there being no shadow pro-

jected at noon at the summer solstice. It was, for a long time, the boundary of the Roman empire. A garrison was stationed there: Juvenal was sent to command there by Domitian, who, by conferring that unlooked for honour, meant, with covered malice, to punish the poet for his reflection on Paris the comedian, a native of Egypt, and a favourite at court.

SYRACUSE, one of the noblest cities in Sicily. The Romans took it during the second Punic War, on which occasion the great Archimedes lost his life. It is now destroyed, and no remains of the place are left. *Etiam periêre ruinæ.*

SYRIA, a country of the Hither Asia, between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, so extensive that Palestine, or the Holy Land, was deemed a part of Syria.

SYRTES, the *deserts of Barbary;* also two dangerous sandy gulfs in the Mediterranean, on the coast of Barbary; one called *Syrtis Magna*, now the *Gulf of Sidra*; the other *Syrtis Parva*, now the *Gulf of Cassos.*

T.

TANAIS, the *Don*, a very large river in Scythia, dividing Asia from Europe. It rises in Muscovy, and flowing through *Crim Tartary*, runs into the *Palus Mœotis*, near the city now called Azoff, in the hands of the Turks.

TARENTUM, now Tarento, in the province of *Otranto.* The Lacædemonians founded a colony there, and thence it was called by Horace, *Lacædemonium Tarentum.*

TARICHÆA, a town of Galilee. It was besieged and taken by Vespasian, who sent six thousand of the prisoners to assist in cutting a passage through the Isthmus of Corinth.

TARRACINA, a city of the Volsci in Latium, near the mouth of the *Ufens*, in the Campania of Rome. Now *Terracina*, on the Tuscan Sea.

TARRACO, the capital of a division of Spain, called by the Romans *Tarraconensis;* now Taragon, a port town in Catalonia, on the Mediterranean, to the west of *Barcelona.* See HISPANIA.

TARTARUS, a river running between the Po and the Athesis (the *Adige*) from west to east, into the Adriatic; now *Tartaro.*

TAUNUS, a mountain of Germany, on the other side of the Rhine; now Mount *Heyrick*, over-against *Mentz*.

TAURANNITII, a people who occupied a district of *Armenia Major*, not far from *Tigranocerta*.

TAURI, a people inhabiting the *Taurica Chersonesus*, on the *Euxine*. The country is now called *Crim Tartary*.

TAURINI, a people dwelling at the foot of the Alps. Their capital was called, after Augustus Cæsar, who planted a colony there, *Augusta Taurinorum*. The modern name is *Turin*, the capital of Piedmont.

TAURUS the greatest mountain in Asia, extending from the *Indian* to the *Ægean* Sea; said to be fifty miles over, and fifteen hundred long. Its extremity to the north is called *Imaus*.

TELEBOÆ, a people of Ætolia or Acarnania in Greece, who removed to Italy, and settled in the isle of Capreæ.

TEMNOS, an inland town of Æolia, in the Hither Asia.

TENCTERI, a people of Germany. See the Manners of the Germans, s. xxxii.

TENOS, one of the Cyclades.

TERMES, a city in the Hither Spain; now a village called *Tiermes*, in Castile.

TERRACINA, a city of the *Volsci* in Latium, near the mouth of the *Ufens*, on the Tuscan Sea; now called *Terracina*, in the territory of Rome.

TEUTOBURGIUM, a forest in Germany, rendered famous by the slaughter of Varus and his legions. It began in the country of the Marsi, and extended to Paderborn, Osnaburg, and Munster, between the *Ems* and the *Luppia*.

THALA, a town in Numidia, destroyed in the war of Julius Cæsar against Juba.

THEBÆ, a very ancient town in the Higher Egypt, on the east side of the Nile, famous for its hundred gates. Another city of the same name in Bœotia, in Greece, said to have been built by Cadmus. It had the honour of producing two illustrious chiefs, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, and Pindar the celebrated poet. Alexander rased it to the ground; but spared the house and family of Pindar.

THERMES, otherwise THERMA, a town in Macedonia, afterwards called *Thessalonia*, famous for the two epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. The city stood at the head of a large bay, called *Thermæus Sinus;* now *Golfo di Salonichi.*

THESSALY, a country of Greece, formerly a great part of Macedonia.

THRACIA, an extensive region, bounded to the north by Mount Hæmus, to the south by the Ægean Sea, and by the Euxine and Propontis to the east. In the time of Tiberius it was an independent kingdom, but afterwards made a Roman province.

THUBASCUM, a town of Mauritania in Africa.

THURII, a people of ancient Italy, inhabiting a part of Lucania, between the rivers Crathis (now *Crate*), and Sybaris (now *Sabari*).

TIBUR, a town of ancient Latium, situate on the Anio, about twenty miles from Rome. Here Horace had his villa, and it was the frequent retreat of Augustus. Now *Tivoli.*

TICINUM, a town of *Insubria*, situate on the river Ticinus, near its confluence with the Po; now *Pavia*, in Milan.

TICINUS, a river of Italy falling into the Po, near the city of *Ticinum*, or Pavia; now *Tesino.*

TIGRANOCERTA, a town of Armenia Major, built by Tigranes in the time of the Mithridatic War. The river *Nicephorus* washes one side of the town. Brotier says, it is now called *Sert* or *Sered.*

TIGRIS, a great river bounding the country called Mesopotamia to the east, while the Euphrates incloses it to the west. Pliny gives an account of the Tigris, in its rise and progress, till it sinks under ground near Mount Taurus, and breaks forth again with a rapid current, falling at last into the Persian Gulf. It divides into two channels at Seleucia.

TMOLUS, a mountain of Lydia, commended for its vines, its saffron, its fragrant shrubs, and the fountain-head of the Pactolus. It appears from Tacitus, that there was a town of the same name, that stood near the mountain.

TOLBIACUM, a town of Gallia Belgica; now *Zulpich*, or *Zulch*, a small town in the duchy of Juliers.

TRALLES, formerly a rich and populous city of Lydia, not far from the river Meander. The ruins are still visible.

TRAPEZUS, now *Trapezond* or *Trebizond*, a city with a port in the Lesser Asia, on the Euxine.

TREVERI, the people of *Treves*; an ancient city of the Lower Germany, on the Moselle. It was made a Roman colony by Augustus, and became the most famous city of Belgic Gaul. It is now the capital of an electorate of the same name.

TRIBOCI, a people of Belgica, originally Germans. They inhabited *Alsace*, and the diocese of *Strasbourg*.

TRIMETUS, an island in the Adriatic; one of those which the ancients called *Insulæ Diomedeæ:* it still retains the name of *Tremiti*. It lies near the coast of the *Capitanate*, a province of the kingdom of Naples, on the Gulf of Venice.

TRINOBANTES, a people of Britain, who inhabited *Middlesex* and *Essex*.

TUBANTES, an ancient people of Germany, about *Westphalia*.

TUNGRI, a people of Belgia. Their city, according to Cæsar, was called *Atuaca*; now *Tongeren*, in the bishopric of Liege.

TURONII, a people of Ancient Gaul, inhabiting the east side of the *Ligeris* (now the *Loire*). Hence the modern name of *Tours*.

TUSCULUM, a town of Latium, to the north of *Alba*, about twelve miles from Rome. It gave the name of *Tusculanum* to Cicero's villa, where that great orator wrote his Tusculan Questions.

TYRUS, an ancient city of Phœnicia, situate on an island so near the continent, that Alexander the Great formed it into a Peninsula, by the mole or causey which he threw up during the siege. See Curtius, lib. iv. s. 7.

U.

UBIAN ALTAR, an altar erected by the Ubii, on their removal to the western side of the Rhine, in honour of Augustus; but whether this was at a different place, or the town of the Ubii, is not known.

UBII, a people originally of Germany, but transplanted by Augustus to the west side of the Rhine, under the conduct of *Agrippa*.

Their capitol was then for a long time called *Oppidum Ubiorum*, and, at last, changed by the empress Agrippina to *Colonia Agrippinensis*; now *Cologne*, the capital of the Electorate of that name.

UMBRIA, a division of Italy, to the south-east of Etruria, between the Adriatic and the Nar.

UNSINGIS, a river of Germany, running into the sea, near *Groningen*; now the *Hunsing*.

URBINUM, now *Urbino*, a city for ever famous for having given birth to Raphael, the celebrated painter.

USIPII, or USIPETES, a people of Germany, who, after their expulsion by the Catti, settled near *Paderborn*. See Manners of the Germans, s. xxxii. and note (*a*).

USPE, a town in the territory of the *Siraci*; now destroyed.

V.

VADA, a town on the left-hand side of the Rhine in the island of Batavia.

VAHALIS, a branch of the Rhine; now the *Waal*. See Manners of the Germans, s. xxix. and note (*a*).

VANGIONES, originally inhabitants of Germany, but afterwards settled in Gaul; now the diocese of *Worms*.

VASCONES, a people who inhabited near the Pyrenees, occupying lands both in Spain and Gaul.

VELABRUM, a place at Rome, between Mount Aventine and Mount Palatine, generally under water, from the overflowing of the Tiber. Propertius describes it elegantly, lib. iv. eleg. x.

> *Quà Velabra suo stagnabant flumine, quàque*
> *Nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas.*

VELINUS, a lake in the country of the Sabines.

VENETI, a people of Gallia Celtica, who inhabited what is now called *Vennes*, in the south of Brittany, and also a considerable tract on the other side of the Alps, extending from the Po along the Adriatic, to the mouth of the *Ister*.

VERCELLÆ, now *Vercelli* in Piedmont.

VERONA, now *Verona*, in the territory of Venice, on the *Adige*.

VESONTIUM, the capital of the Sequani; now *Besançon*, the chief city of *Burgundy*.

VETERA, i. e. Vetera Castra. The Old Camp, which was a fortified station for the legions; now *Santen*, in the duchy of Cleves, not far from the Rhine.

VIA SALARIA, a road leading from the salt-works at Ostia to the country of the Sabines.

VIADRUS, now the *Oder*, running through *Silesia*, *Brandenburg*, *Pomerania*, and discharging itself into the Baltic.

VICETIA, now *Vicenza*, a town in the territory of Venice.

VIENNÆ, a city of Narbonese Gaul; now *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*.

VINDELICI, a people inhabiting the country of *Vindelicia*, near the Danube, with the Rhæti to the south; now part of *Bavaria* and *Suabia*.

VINDONISSA, now *Windisch*, in the Canton of Bern in Switzerland.

VISURGIS, a river of Germany, made famous by the slaughter of Varus and his legions; now the *Weser*, running north between Westphalia and Lower Saxony, into the German Sea.

VOCETIUS MONS, a mountain of the Helvetii, thought to be the roughest part of Mount *Jura*, to which the Helvetii fled, when defeated by Cæcina. See Hist. i. s. 67.

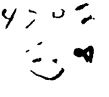
VOLSCI, a powerful people of ancient Latium, extending from *Antium*, their capital, to the *Upper Liris*, and the confines of *Campania*.

VULSINII, or VOLSINII, a city of Etruria, the native place of Sejanus; now *Bolseno*, or *Bolsenna*.

Z.

ZEUGMA, a town on the *Euphrates*, famous for a bridge over the river. See Pliny, lib. v. s. 24.

FINIS.



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